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NARRATIVE
OF THE
WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.
IN 1838—39.

By CAPTAIN HENRY HAVELOCK.

**18TH REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY),
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON,
G.C.B. AND K.C.H.,
COMMANDING THE BENGAL FORCES IN AFFGHANISTAN.**

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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1840.

1289.

WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

TO
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON,
G.C.B. AND K.C.H.

I DEDICATE THIS HASTY NARRATIVE
IN TOKEN OF MY GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF
HIS NUMEROUS ACTS OF PERSEVERING KINDNESS TO ME
SINCE THE YEAR 1825, IN WHICH I HAD FIRST
THE HONOUR OF SERVING IN THE SAME ARMY WITH HIM.

H. HAVELOCK.

Camp Cabul,
14th October, 1839.

INTRODUCTION.

I SUBMIT this hurried sketch of events to the indulgence of the public, under the persuasion that it will be more acceptable, if now despatched to England, in its present state, than it would be three months later, after the most careful revision, and the addition of such information as I might, in the interval, be enabled to collect. I desire in this matter to profit by experience. When, thirteen years ago, I traced the history of a portion of the operations in Ava, I had the mortification to discover that, during the six months which had elapsed, whilst I was employed in carrying the work through the press, burdened as I was at the

time with other avocations, a complete revolution had taken place in the minds of men touching the subject of my narrative. All interest in the events recorded therein had died away ; and, as three other histories had been given to the world in the mean time, my recital, though developing some new facts, and some views of affairs very different from those of the writers who had got the start of me, was regarded with the marked apathy of a wearied auditory, excepting within a narrow circle in India. I have therefore, preferred giving publicity on this occasion, without delay, to the contents of a personal journal, to losing the valuable time which would have been consumed in putting my materials into the more regular form of an historic memoir.

The hope of framing some acceptable memorial of our exertions in Affghanistan, was formed at the time of my appointment to the divisional staff of the Army of the Indus ; but was dashed, at first, with fears springing from a recollection of past discouragements. My former effort as an author had not met

with that species of reward, which is commonly looked for at the present day. No enterprising publisher had taken under his auspices my "Memoir of the Three Campaigns." It had been printed in a distant land, and thus placed beyond the reach of the praise or blame of the constituted critics of Britain; and, in consequence of the short memories of a large proportion of my subscribers, the proceeds of the publication had scarcely defrayed the cost of giving it to a limited number of readers. Yet a counterpoise to these mortifications was not wanting. A few officers of rank, whose discernment and candour I could not doubt, even in my own cause, had characterized the performance as honest and faithful; three commanders-in-chief in India had spoken favourably of it to others, as well as to myself; and I have been deceived if, when war was likely to be renewed in the Burman Empire, and information regarding it had again become valuable, a fourth general placed in the same situation of responsible control above adverted to, did not find, or profess to find, in the pages of the neglected lieutenant, develop-

ments of fact and reasoning, which he had in vain sought in books on the same topic, that had enjoyed the sunshine of a far more brilliant popularity.

Doubting, nevertheless, and balancing, as Alfieri phrases it, *fra il si, ed il no*, I reached Ferozepore. Here it was that a civil functionary distinguished for talent, addressing an officer of rank, assured him that our projected advance into Affghanistan, would be no more than a *promenade militaire*. The expression excited much attention at the time, and many were a little angry at the prognostication. Perhaps it aided me in coming to a conclusion as to my intended authorship. I knew that we were to traverse countries, the natural features, government, and moral condition of which might form in themselves an interesting subject for literary exertion, even after the reception by the world of the memoirs, and books of travels of Jonas Hanway, Chardin, Christie, Pottinger, Elphinstone, Burnes, Connolly, and Boileau. But, to the honours of a graphic tourist I was determined not to

aspire. If we were only to play the part of well-escorted travellers, I resolved to be silent; but if, in opening the Indus in fact, as had hitherto been done in treaties and protocols merely,—if, in placing our relations with Sind upon a stable and satisfactory basis, in substituting a friendly for an ill-affected and treacherous power in Affghanistan, and raising up beyond the line of the Helmund a barrier against the aggressions of Persia, we should encounter armed resistance, I was ready once more to take up the pen to record the exertions of my fellow soldiers, their character, and consequences.

The reader must pronounce whether, in the spirited affair at Ghuznee, there was a sufficient ground of martial achievement for my final determination again to come before the public as an author. In whatever way he may decide, I at least felt that I had not materials, even after that brief exploit, for a grave military memoir; but having, from the commencement of our march into Lower Sind,

begun to keep a hasty record of our daily movements accompanied by some notice of the countries through which the army was passing, I came afterwards to the resolution of working it up into a narrative form, instead of using it, as I had originally purposed, merely as an aid in completing a work of a more elaborate stamp. "War," said the poet, more than fifty years ago,

" War is a game which, were their subjects wise,

" Kings would not play at."

The time seems slowly to have come round in Europe when both rulers and people are, in some measure, disposed to profit by this hint. Neither monarchs nor their subjects are, I think, prepared to rush, with the same headlong haste which characterized former periods, into the evils and horrors of belligerency. They appear at least willing now, as of yore they often were not, to hear before they strike. But the sarcasm and the counsel scarcely extend to British India ; for, in the first place, there the governed have no voice or opinion at all in the

matter, and next, though much shrewd logic has been employed, and much lofty eloquence lavished to prove the reverse, the real fact appears to me to be that the succession of rulers of India, from Warren Hastings to Lord Auckland, have generally, if not universally, been dragged with unfeigned reluctance into the wars in which they have been engaged, and that the principle of nearly all of those contests has on the part of the British been that of pure and unwilling self-defence. The hostile efforts which are to be reviewed in the following pages form, in my opinion, a strong example of this rule, instead of an exception to it. When Russia has been portrayed as the ambitious aggressor, the Shah of Persia and the Barukzye chiefs as willing dupes and tools, and British India as exerting her own energies and seeking the alliance of her neighbours, solely with the view of erecting a barrier against meditated encroachment, the historic picture appears to me to be at once faithful and complete; and, though the armies of Bengal and Bombay were put in motion in 1838, for the purpose of passing the

frontier lines of other states, the objects of their operations, the more they are examined, will the more clearly be proved to have been essentially defensive. It is far pleasanter to feel assured of this, when sitting down to write the narrative of a portion of those acts, than it would have been to describe more brilliant deeds, if the policy in which they originated had been iniquitous, or questionable.

Here, then, after the lapse of thirteen years spent in the discharge of the lowly duties of my profession, I propose to appear once more before the world as an author, and though this second essay makes its appearance in form of humbler pretension than my first, still it will be classed under the head of military history, "*duro impegno*," as the poet whom I have already quoted, rightly said of the composition of tragedy; an engagement which involves much of labour and peril, if, in completing the task, regard be had to sustaining the fourfold character, which none thus employed can venture with impunity to compromise, of soldier, scholar, gentleman,

and Christian. As a soldier, it will be demanded of every such narrator of events, that he should show himself not unacquainted with the great principles of the military art, although his own avocations may generally have confined him to the study and practice of its bare elements. His style will not escape criticism, though he should plead that the hours which he would willingly have devoted to the labours and pleasures of varied literature, have been absorbed by the dry duties of the barrack, the camp, or the field ; and it is necessary that he should be able to show that in recording or judging he has never been unmindful of the requirements of courtesy, never wilfully departed from strict and impartial truth, to serve any purpose whatever, and has ever set the same value on the reputation of others, which he might rightfully expect men to put upon his own. In a work of this kind, too, a writer is called to sit in judgment upon his superiors. Will they, in my case, think it reasonable and fair to recognise the distinction between the inferior officer, who as such has for twenty-five

years piqued himself upon a literal and strict obedience to every command of his seniors, and the public chronicler of events, who in the exercise of functions and prerogatives of his honourable and useful office,

("Oh ! that my mind were equal to fulfil
The comprehensive mandate that it gives.")*

has a right to cite the lofty and the low alike before his tribunal, put them on their trial, hear evidence, absolve, or condemn ; so that all be done in moderation, with equity, and impartiality ?

Thus much for possible offence to public dignities ; and next, where so many have in the like case failed, how can I hope to steer quite clear of the rock of injury to private feelings ? I fear the case is hopeless ; yet I am confident that I have stated nothing throughout the work as from my own knowledge, of which I cannot produce proof ; and in instances in which I have been guided by the reports of others, they have invariably been those of honourable men,

* Wordsworth.

competent witnesses in the cases in which I have availed myself of their testimony. I have only further on this topic to invite the candid examination of my work by those who were actors in the scenes which it describes, and are best qualified to corroborate or refute its statements. To them I appeal, and, wherever any shall detect me in error, especially in such as might be hurtful to others, I have only to request that the nature of my misapprehension (of wilful slander I will not suspect myself) may be pointed out to me candidly and courteously, when 'I shall be found far more ready to accord, than any to demand, from me the only rational reparation which any man can in such cases seek or offer, viz., the public declaration of the truth, as far as it can after the most diligent inquiry be ascertained. For this species of correction I shall be thankful to any of my companions in arms, or to others; and, if the representations thus made should rightfully require the confession of error on my part, I shall ever esteem such sincere and willing recantation my glory, and not my shame. So much for my facts; of the few

opinions advanced in the work, it becomes me to speak with diffidence. I have striven in forming them to be candid, impartial, and charitable.

It remains for me to acknowledge my obligations to others in the preparation of this little work for the press. First of all, my thanks are due to my kind patron, Sir Willoughby Cotton, to whom this performance is dedicated. His flattering selection of me to serve on his personal staff, from the commencement of hostilities, opened out to me sources of information to which, in the ranks of my regiment, I could have had no access. Next, I must not fail to record my gratitude to His Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane (now Baron Keane, of Ghuznee), commander-in-chief of the army of the Indus. As soon as my intention of recording in print the acts and endurances of the force was made known to him at Cabool, he encouraged me, without any solicitation on my part, to apply to himself personally for any information I might require, and intimated to the heads of departments his wish that all docu-

ments should unreservedly be placed within my reach. By this handsome permission, I have greatly profited.

To the talent of my brother officer, Brevet-major Kershaw, I owe the execution of the landscapes and plans.* My acknowledgments are also cordially tendered to Major Craigie, deputy adjutant-general, Major Garden, deputy quartermaster-general, Lieutenant Becher, deputy assistant quartermaster-general, Major Thomson, chief engineer of the Bengal force, and to Major Campbell, deputy quartermaster-general of the Bombay contingent,† for the contents of official documents, and of plans and sketches willingly communicated under the kind and distinguished sanction above adverted to. I am further indebted to my excellent friend, Lieutenant Barr, of the Bengal horse

* The landscapes and plans here alluded to had not reached England at the time of our going to press, and the publication of the work was considered of too important a nature to admit of delay. It is probable that they may be published hereafter, and supplied in a cheap form to the purchasers of the work.

† Major Keith, deputy adjutant-general of the same force, to whom I was under similar obligations, died, deservedly regretted, on the march from Cabool to Kelat.

artillery, for the views of the pass of Alee Musjid and of Peshawur, from the eastward. Though I myself prefer to all others the orthographical system of my respected preceptor in the oriental languages, Doctor Gilchrist, I have, in this narrative, adopted the mode of spelling Asiatic names which appeared likely to be most familiar to the greatest number of readers.

The course of events having detained me, contrary to my expectation and wish, in India, I felt assured that innumerable topographical errors would be found in the work, if printed from my manuscript, without the opportunity of personal correction of the press. I accordingly adopted the suggestion of my friend and connexion, Mr. Marshman, of Serampore, and the whole, with his assistance, was set up in type in the months of April and May, 1840, and the proof-sheets transmitted overland to England. I have much pleasure in stating that I have also to thank him for many valuable hints of a literary nature during the completion of this labour.

I have particularly to solicit public indulgence

on the score of the haste of which I fear marks are but too evident in my last chapter. The claims of professional duty necessarily abridged my stay in the lower provinces of Bengal, and though, after leaving Peshawar, I had continued to commit to paper every "note-worthy object," during my progress to the Attok, and through the Punjab, I was compelled to omit all this additional matter, or to run the risk of delaying, indefinitely, the appearance of the work. To the same cause is to be attributed the abrupt form of the latter part of my narrative. I feel confident that I should be enabled to remedy these, and many other defects, if encouraged to print a second edition.

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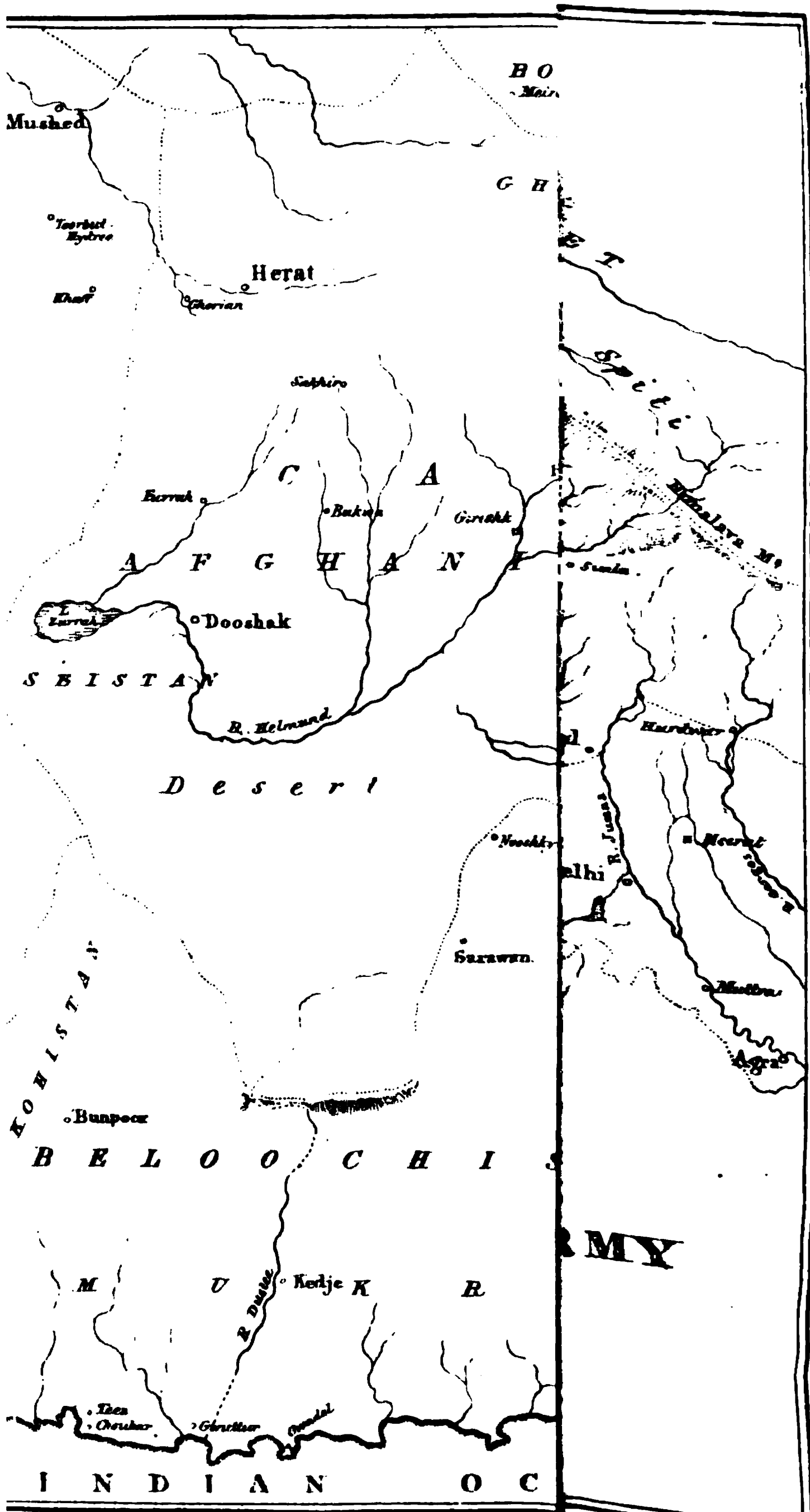
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NARRATIVE

OF THE

WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.

CHAPTER I.

Connexion of the author with the force—He is appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Willoughby Cotton—Causes of the war, and preparations for it—Defensive and cautious policy of Lord William Bentinck—Colonel Passmore appointed instructor in tactics to the Persians—Crisis of the attempt of the Persians against Herat—Counteracting measures of Lord Auckland—Declaration of the British government in India—Contingent of Shah Shoojah—Bengal force—Bombay contingent—Concentration of the armament—Plan of the campaign—Route—March from the Jumna to the Sutlege—Intelligence of the raising of the siege of Herat and its consequences—Observations.

I was serving at Kurnal as adjutant of my regiment, when it became publicly known that an army was to be assembled for the avowed purpose of restoring Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk

to the throne of his ancestors. The 13th had suffered severely during the months of July, August, and September, 1838, first from cholera morbus, and then from fevers of various types chiefly remittent and intermittent, and the actual strength had been brought so low by the painfully frequent recurrence of casualties, and by copious invaliding, and the general health of the remaining soldiers was so much impaired, that it was for some time doubted whether it would be possible that the corps should form a part of the force about to be employed beyond the Indus. These fears, however, were dissipated on a change for the better taking place in the weather towards the latter end of September.

The regiment equipped itself for service in the field, and Colonel Sale, its senior lieutenant-colonel, was warned to prepare to assume the command of a brigade, and invited to give an opinion regarding the selection of his brigade-major. His choice fell upon myself, and as I had served two years on the general staff of the army in Ava, and was just at this conjuncture promoted, after twenty-three years' probation in the inferior grades, to the rank of captain, which obviated all difficulty on that score, I did not anticipate any objection to the

nomination. It was soon, however, announced to me that Sir Henry Fane had selected a senior officer in my corps for the appointment of brigade-major of the 1st brigade, and I had thus every prospect of my exertions being confined to the command of a company of light infantry during the expected operations ; when the arrival of Sir Willoughby Cotton at Kurnal, to put himself at the head of his division, changed, as far as my views were concerned, the aspect of affairs.

In the war in Ava, Brigadier-general Cotton had commanded the troops from Madras, and I had been attached to those from the supreme presidency ; but I had become personally known to him in Burma, and we had often met, whilst engaged in various duties before the enemy. It is a pleasure to me record that I afterwards owed to his favourable representations my appointment by Lord Combermere to a staff situation in Bengal, which I held three years and a half. It was after an interval of nine years that I now again met Sir Willoughby Cotton at Kurnal, on the occasion of the assembly at that station of the several corps about to be placed under his orders ; when all the officers of his departmental staff having already been appointed by superior authority, he applied on the ground of the strength of his

division (nine regiments) for the assistance of a second aide-de-camp ; and his request being acceded to, submitted my name to the commander-in-chief. He offered me at the same time the temporary employment of postmaster during the advance of his three brigades from the Jumna to Ferozepore, which I accepted. Postmaster of division, therefore, *de facto*, and recommended to be aide-de-camp to its general, I prepared to move from Kurnal. Thus much having been premised, my narrative will look back to events anterior in point of date, and of more general interest.

The question to be decided by the army of the Indus was simply this : “ Who is henceforth to exercise a predominating influence over those countries which were united after the death of Nadir Shah up to 1809 under the dominion of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, and his successors, latterly under the name of the kingdom of Cabul,—England, or Russia ? ” It is labour lost to go about to prove this, it is silly affectation to attempt to deny it. Since the termination of the campaign which gave to Russia by right of conquest Erivan and Nakhetchevan, and an extended frontier at the expense of Persia, the politics of the latter state have received a bent and bias from those

of the court of St. Petersburg, which have been a loud and perpetual call to Great Britain to look to the integrity of her Indian possessions.

The administration of Lord William Bentinck was essentially pacific. The great and professed object of it was such a revision of the expenditure of the country, which he ruled, as would serve to recruit the finances of the state, which had been all but ruined by the expenses of the Burman war. His attention was also much taken up with liberal and enlightened plans for the education of the natives of Hindoostan, and the elevation of their moral character, and with imparting to them by degrees such a share in the government of their own land, as this amelioration might render them fit to take upon themselves. But he certainly had not amidst these, and other great undertakings entirely lost sight of the danger, which threatened our tenure of India from the encroaching spirit of a vast autocracy, which was devising how its influence might be made silently to advance up to the very threshold of the north-western gates of the magnificent edifice of the British dominion. He did much in the way which he deemed circumstances to demand, with the view of creating a counterpoise in that quarter. He

6 POLICY OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

strengthened the bonds of our amity with the ruler of the Punjab; and it was under his auspices that Burnes, the most enterprising and successful traveller of his day, explored the several branches of the Indus, and of some of the rivers of the Punjab from the sea to Lahore; and then carried research to the capital of the ruler, whose authority had been established on a portion of the fragments of the power of the Suddozye family, and onwards again into cities, and regions beyond the limit of Hindoo Koosh, and into the heart of Persia. The routes were thus explored, by which our subtle, and gigantic foe might penetrate, and our means of defence both in the way of precautionary alliance, and offensive anticipation, were brought within the scope of the consideration of future statesmen and rulers. Nor was this all; but by virtue of a succession of treaties signed and ratified without noise or pretension, the waters of the noble Sinde from Curachee to Attock received a mandate to carry upwards for distribution amongst the people of Central Asia the products of European industry and skill.

I cannot speak with equal applause of Colonel Passmore's mission. I see not what could have been reasonably hoped from a measure neither purely military, nor avowedly diplomatic. Here

were officers with our troops or treasure, an offer of instruction without influence to secure its acceptance, or power to resent its neglect, and just so much devised in a vague manner as might serve to constitute a languid answer to any accusation of having literally attempted nothing. Whilst at an interesting period of Persian politics the agents of Russia were dexterously, and perseveringly watching the course of events, and turning to their own account successive revolutions in the state, we see Passmore and his associates scarcely tolerated by the court, and without even the shadow of authority with the army, compelled acutely to feel that their talents and acquirements were neutralized by the error of their position. The mission produced no result worthy of record; and the members of this little committee of foreign instruction disappeared one after the other from the scene. Some became incorporated with that diplomatic body, which the English, not the Indian government, had at length felt it to be wise on their part timeously to establish at Tehran, and others returned to a sphere of more hopeful labour in Hindoostan; so that when the circumstances of the siege of Herat had to be communicated to the governor-general, in 1838, Major D'Arcy Todd alone, of

all those who had landed at Busheer in 1833, was found available on the spot to convey the tidings to Simla.

The beleaguering of Herat by the armies of Persia is not to be regarded as any new feature in the policy of that state. The complexion of its counsels and acts had for ten years before been uniformly the same. The tools of Russian artifice and ambition, its ministers, had never during that period spoken sincerely, but when they openly declared hostility to the British Empire in India. In the attack on the hereditary possessions of Shah Kamran, the portion which he had saved out of the conflagration, when the empire of his father and uncles were reduced to ashes, we within the Indus saw not the symptoms of any new disease ; but only rejoiced that the morbid matter testified its existence in a manner which rendered the nature of the remedies required less doubtful than before. Matters had reached a crisis. The character and object of the views and combinations of Russia herself could no longer be questioned by the most imbecile, the most interested, or the most sceptical amongst us ; they were fully unmasked. Not to mention the intrigues, of which Cabul and Candahar were at this very moment the scene, an en-

deavour had now openly been made to establish for Persia, that is, by the juggling processes of Slavonic transmutation, for the Czar himself, a place of arms within one hundred marches of the Indus at Attock.

The intermediate space was nearly all in the hands of the Barukzye chiefs, who had successively admitted a Muscovite agent (credulity itself scouts the pretext of his mission being purely commercial) into diplomatic intimacy at their courts, and to one of them Herat had been formerly assigned as his share of the plunder; whilst another demanded from our ally the *restitution* of Peshawur, which had in fact never been in his possession, and was rapt like another Muhmood, Timour, or Nadir, in golden reveries of conquest beyond the Indus, nay, even on the left bank of the Sütlege; and at this very time *an intercepted despatch had disclosed the fact that the Ameers of Sinde had gone the extreme length of beckoning the Persians into their states, and soliciting their aid in freeing them from the hated influence of the Feringees.* No time was to be lost; for though the energy, decision, and skill of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger had under Providence saved the city of Herat for the moment, who could foresee what force might be brought up, openly at

length, by our powerful and ambitious rival to accomplish the conquest of the whole state; and thus lay bare at once to her invading efforts our entire frontier from the Run of Cutch to the Himalaya? That, which Persian troops paid, disciplined, and counselled by Russian officers, and out of the Muscovite treasury, had failed to effect, might yet by the battalions and squadrons of the autocrat himself, led perhaps by the conqueror of Erivan, have been consummated with a terrible celerity. Such was the formidable evil, which presented itself to view in August, 1838.

The remedy proposed by the Governor-general of India was not, as some might have advised, to assume the line of the Indus in a defensive manner, and await on its left bank the further development of the projects of our secret and declared enemies; but boldly to pass that boundary, and achieve at once a total change in the aspect of affairs beyond it, by dethroning the Barukzye rulers, and reinstating in the possession of a part of the dominions of his father, and his grandfather that Shooja-ool-Moolk, with whom Elphinstone had journeyed to Peshawur to treat, when the genius of Napoleon had thirty years before taught us to tremble in the expectation of another form

of aggressive violence. The day of calamity of this prince had then commenced ; for since that period he had lingered in exile, eating the idle bread of dependence, or in his bolder and more active mood wearying himself in fruitless intrigues and efforts to recover his lost empire, evincing amidst a series of repulses and disappointments all the perseverance of a de Medici, a Stuart, or a Bourbon.

Lord Auckland had resolved on war for the re-establishment in his authority of this banished monarch, and previously to drawing the sword he made public profession of his intentions in a document, in which though Russia was never named, she was to be found, paragraph after paragraph, delineated as the covert aggressor, and, if not herself, by means of others investing and besieging Herat, insulting and irritating Dr. McNeil, spurring on to audacity, wild pretension, and mischief, Ameer Dost Moohummud of Cabul, bribing Kohun Dil Khan of Candahar, and it might have been added inflaming the jealous suspicions of the rulers of Sind. In the midst of these acts and thoughts of offence and defection it was announced that one ally had been found firm, faithful, and consistent, viz., the Maharaja Runjeet Singh, ruler of the Punjab; that when,

therefore, the choice of the British government had rested on Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk as a fitting pinnacle for the structure which, in the form of the restored kingdom of Cabul, was to oppose resistance to the external pressure, with this monarch *de jure*, as he was now assumed to be, and with the Lord *de facto* of the Punjab, Mooltan, Cashmere, and their various dependencies and adjuncts a triplicate treaty had been signed; by which the contracting parties were bound to co-operate in the great measure of security of giving Cabul a monarch of the stock of Ahmed Shah, and the friends of Britain in Asia a new member of their confraternity.

In this paper, the publication of which may be considered as the starting-post of the race of restoration, a determination was evinced to give to future events, so far as they could be controlled, the character not of an hostile invasion, but of the firm and solemn resumption of outraged rights too long left in injurious abeyance, and it was declared that the grandson of the Dooranee conqueror, would cross the Indus, and enter into the repossession of his patrimonial provinces, surrounded by his own troops, and upheld only by the British army. To watch the progress of these changes, and con-

duct the vessel of this great Asiatic revolution into the desired haven, men, for whose prudence and ability their past services and long experience were the acknowledged guarantee, now received plenary authority to represent the British power near the person of the royal candidate for regained dominion, and in the durbars of such of the established powers, as it was proposed to reckon as allies.

Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, principal secretary to government, with the governor-general, received the designation of Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk and Lieutenant-colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, known and appreciated as the topographer of the Indus, and the first, who explored with the feelings of a genuine traveller, the regions beyond the Indian Caucasus, was nominated (subsequent events have rendered it impossible to record this without an emotion of disgust, mingled with a hope of righteous retribution*) Envoy to Kelat, the capital of Mihrab Khan, the titular chieftian of Beloochistan, whilst the resolution and patriotism of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, the defender of Herat, was rewarded by the delegation to him of diplomatic powers

• Written before the fall of Kelat.

at the court of Shah Kamran. The integrity of his actual possessions (albeit including some of the fairest portions of the Dooranee realm), was secured to Runjeet Singh; and though the stately air of the manifesto indicated the mental calm of a great power rising to the accomplishment of an act of equitable restitution, rather than the awakened energy of an athlete preparing to enter the arena, and overbear and disarm by force and skill all resistance, however vigorous, hints were not wanting of a formidable army in preparation to fulfil to the uttermost the magnificent promises held forth of resumed empire, and consolidated peace.

These were no empty allusions. Orders had been given to raise in the provinces of Hindoostan, at the primary cost of 'the British government, a levy to serve under the colours of Shah Shooja, consisting of a troop of native horse artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five of infantry. A commandant and adjutant had been selected for each of these corps from amongst the officers of the Bengal army. The recruiting was at first slow, but when the objects contemplated in the measure had come to be fully understood by the classes, from amongst which Indian soldiers are raised, and increased facilities had been given by lowering

the standard of qualification to meet the exigences of the service, the ranks of the force filled rapidly. As fast as its young soldiers were collected at Bareilly, at Delhi, and at Kurnal, they were marched towards Loodiana, and initiated into the mysteries of their new vocation. Major-general Simpson, colonel of the 19th regiment native infantry, was nominated to the command of this contingent, a staff and commissariat appointed, and organized, and a military chest established and replenished. This was the armament proper of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

The British force, to which, as to the army of an ally the manifesto had assigned the pleasing task of "supporting the monarch in his regained dominions against foreign interference, and factious opposition" was to be composed of two quotas, the one from the Bengal, the other from the Bombay Presidency. Sir Henry Fane was, at the request of the governor-general, to command in chief both of these. With the former this narrative professes throughout to be more particularly connected, and with it the enumeration of the whole will commence. Brigadier Graham, an officer distinguished in the war in Ava, was placed at the head of the Artillery. It consisted of two troops of horse

(British), and three companies of foot, one of which (native), was to man and serve the newly-equipped No. 6, or camel light field battery, which had been brought into a state of acknowledged efficiency by the exertions and ingenuity of Major Pew. Brigadier Arnold was to command the Bengal cavalry brigade, formed of the 16th lancers, and 2nd and 3rd light cavalry, whilst the charge of the troops of that arm from both Presidencies, as soon as they should be united, was to be confided to Major-general Thackwell, Lieutenant-colonel of H. M.'s 3rd light dragoons. To Major-generals Sir Willoughby Cotton, and Duncan was given the command of the 1st and 2nd divisions of infantry, the one consisting of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, and the other of the 4th and 5th brigades.

The brigades again were so partitioned that in the 1st, Brigadier Sale found under his orders H. M.'s 13th light infantry and 16th and 48th regiments of native infantry, Major-general Nott in the 2nd, the 31st, 42nd, and 43rd regiments native infantry, and Brigadier Dennis in the 3rd, the Buffs, the 2nd, and 27th regiments of native infantry. The 4th brigade was consigned to Brigadier Roberts, the 5th to Brigadier Worsley. The corps composing these respectively were the Bengal European regiment, the

35th and 37th regiments native infantry, and the 5th, 28th, and 53rd regiments native infantry. An engineer department under Captain George Thomson as chief, was well officered, furnished with an ample *matériel*, and aided by two companies of sappers and miners, native soldiers with European non-commissioned officers, trained like the officers under Colonel Pasley. A siege train of four 18-pounder guns, two 8-inch, and two 5½-inch mortars, with two spare howitzers, the one a 24, the other a 12 pounder, completed the equipment of this very respectable force.

The general staff was constructed on the principle of leaving the heads of departments of the army of the supreme presidency, both Queen's and Company's, with the provincial commander-in-chief, whose head-quarters were to be at Meerut, a point not too distant from the Sutlege, or from Simla, the temporary seat of government, and of taking into the field the deputies; and in the selection of officers to be employed at the head-quarters of the campaigning force, as well as in appointing them to divisions and brigades; care had been taken to give staff occupation to as many as possible of those who belonged to the regiments of the armament, and were at the same time eligible

for such situations. An order had been sent to all detached officers of the regiments warned for the service in every part of India to join these corps; but wherever it was practicable, those who were thus withdrawn from their ordinary spheres of utility, were put into the army of the Indus, or employed in it in some way, which would give the best scope to their presumed merits and experience.

The Bombay force does not, strictly speaking, belong to this narration. But here it may be convenient to mention that to the commander-in-chief at that Presidency, Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane, it was proposed to give the command in the field of its contingent or quota of the army of the Indus. Bombay furnished for the war two troops of horse, and two companies of foot artillery, and a brigade of cavalry, consisting of two squadrons of H. M.'s 4th light dragoons, and the 1st light cavalry of that establishment. The infantry were H. M.'s 2nd (or Queen's), and 17th foot, together with the 1st (or grenadier), the 5th, 19th, and 23rd regiments of native infantry. The contingent likewise brought into the field an engineer department, and detachment of sappers and miners, and a siege train consisting of two 18-pounder and four 9-pounder guns. Brigadier Stevenson

commanded the artillery ; Brigadier Scott, 2nd Lieutenant-colonel of the 4th light dragoons, the cavalry brigade ; and Major-general Wiltshire, 1st Lieutenant-colonel 2nd (or Queen's,) the infantry, having under him Brigadier Gordon ; and also at a later period Brigadier Baumgardt, 2nd Lieutenant-colonel of the Queen's. The Poona auxiliary horse constituted the irregular cavalry of this contingent. The Bengal force about to be assembled might be estimated at ten thousand, that from Bombay at six thousand men.

Fixing now our attention exclusively on the upper provinces of the Agra government, the period is seen to approach when military operations could with reference to climate be safely commenced. The selection of the native regiments was the result of the personal observation of Sir Henry Fane during his tours of inspection. Each of the corps therefore, which was thus nominated, might justly regard its incorporation with the army of the Indus as a distinction earned by its own superior discipline. But several of them had to be brought up from distant points. The mandate to prepare for active service found indeed the 53rd at Meerut, the 27th and 35th at Kurnaul, the 16th and 48th at Delhi, and the 42nd at Bareilly ; but the

37th were at Agra, the 28th at Mynpoorie, the 2nd and 43rd as distant as Lucknow, and Cawnpore, and the 31st had to be pushed up from Allahabad, and the 5th from Benares. Painful marches at a most inclement season of late rain, and along flooded roads, had to be performed by some of these chosen battalions before they could reach Kurnal "the trysting place" of the mass of the artillery and infantry. Major-general Duncan was commanding on the spot, but Sir Willoughby Cotton having been stationed at Barrackpore, the head-quarters of the presidency division, had to traverse the plains of Bengal, then waist deep in water, before he could reach Meerut in the second, and the point at which his division was to assemble, in the third week of October.

At this period of preparation a feeling of the most unlimited confidence in the energy and foresight of Sir Henry Fane pervaded the minds of men of all ranks in the congregating army. It was apparent to all that so far as the arrangements had been confided to him, every thing had been well weighed, judiciously combined, and promptly and decisively carried forth into action. The very clearness of the diction, in which his orders were conveyed to the force, assured it, that there could be in the writer no

confusion of ideas, no hesitation or infirmity of purpose. The troops and their officers alike understood that their safety and honour were in the hands of a commander, who was worthy of the deposit, and addressed themselves with alacrity to carry into effect instructions, which they were convinced would be based on as jealous a regard for their own comfort and welfare, as might be consistent with the wise, bold, and uncompromising fulfilment of an important public duty.

But the clearest perceptions are occasionally clouded, the longest experience and most matured reflection, will not always exempt from error. Shall I be permitted without offence to record my participation in the doubts, which at this time the generals of division, the brigadiers and superior officers of the staff, united in entertaining of the expediency of one measure regarding the equipment of the troops of this force, which very materially affected the health and physical exertions of the soldier? One of the first duties which a recruit in Europe has to learn, is to carry the knapsack, which contains articles of the greatest value to him, his linen, and the small equipments, on which depend his personal comfort and cleanliness. These he must transport on his own

shoulders, for the plain and unanswerable reason, that excepting in the case of sickness, they never can be conveyed for him. Constant practice therefore is necessary to accustom him to the weight of this burden, and consequently parades in heavy and in light marching order are amongst the most important of the regulated exercises of the infantry belligerent. We have the authority of Napoleon for believing that the musketeer ought never in Europe to be separated from his ammunition, his spare flints, and his knapsack.

But the case is far different under the burning sun of Southern Asia. There, practice has proved it to be sound policy to reduce the personal incumbrances of the fighting man to the *minimum*, which the exigences of actual service will permit; and therefore as means of transport are usually procurable in India not only for the tents of the troops, but for their bedding, consisting of one or more cotton quilts for each soldier, the knapsacks and their contents also had in other armies generally been carried on camels or bullocks, the expense of the hire or purchase of these animals being cheerfully paid by the troops themselves, the camp equipage alone being conveyed at the cost of the government. But in the army of the Indus this rule

was departed from, and the foot soldier directed to load himself instead of his camel with his knapsack, and a proportion of his equipments, or necessaries, as they are technically called. The European thus took the field carrying his firelock, ten pounds in weight, and his accoutrements with bayonet and sixty rounds of ammunition, thirteen pounds more. It was a question worthy of the fullest consideration whether it was adviseable to load him with yet other thirteen pounds, in order to secure him the doubtful advantage of the constant possession about his person of his watch-coat, a pair of trousers, a shirt, a pair of boots, and of socks, in fact a change of clothing, and his great coat, the latter being the only article, with which he could not conveniently have dispensed. That might have been slung in the manner, which our most recent regulations recognise under the name of "Guard mounting order." The rest he would willingly, and might advantageously have consigned to the back of his baggage animal. It is not to be denied that at this period difficulties were experienced in procuring carriage for the troops; but these might have been surmounted by perseverance and contrivance; and it seemed advisable to use every exertion, and make some sacrifice

rather than to overweight the infantry combatant, at a time when he was called upon to perform such a succession of marches as few armies in any quarter of the globe had ever attempted to complete, and when it was probable that the period of activity would be prolonged through the season, which includes the hottest months of the year.

If this change of system did little for the European, it offered still less compensation for the additional fatigue to the native soldier. He too might with advantage have been required to carry his watch coat, and his small brass *lota* or drinking pot. But in addition to these the standing orders of the Bengal army direct the Sipahce in heavy marching order to have with him an *unga* or undress tunic or short coat, a pair of trousers, a *dhotee*, or waist-cloth, a *durree* or small carpet, a *tawa* or iron utensil for cooking his *ottah*, and a pair of shoes. All of these might safely have been transported from camp to camp by his beast of burden. The experience of our long progresses from the Jumna to the Sutlege, from the Sutlege to the Indus, and from the Indus to the western and eastern capitals of Affghanistan, have fully proved the soundness of the opinions formed at Kurnal and Meerut to the effect that the prac-

tical usefulness to him of the articles carried by the sipahee or soldier never compensated him, or nearly so, for the serious inconvenience of their weight; an additional burden, which was found materially to contribute to exhaust the animal spirits, impede active exertion, and in not a few cases to produce or aggravate disease.

The 1st of November had been fixed as the day, from which all appointments in the "Army of the Indus" (so the force, to the adventures of which this narrative relates, was now designated by authority in general orders) were to bear date, and thus much of the intentions of the government was promulgated, that by a combined march the whole armament from the Bengal and Agra presidencies would be concentrated in the latter end of November at Ferozepore on the Sutlege, or to speak more precisely on the Gharra, thirty miles below the point where the waters of the Beyah or Hyphasis are poured into those of the Sutlege. There the governor-general was to meet in grand Durbar our ally the ruler of the Punjab, there all the arts of diplomacy were to be employed to strengthen the bands of our connexion with that state, and there such a display was to be made of the force of one contingent of the "army of the Indus," as would produce an im-

pression on the minds of the princes and potentates interested in the result, of its adequacy to the great task which it had marched to complete. But before I proceed to narrate these events, and the circumstances of the advance from the Jumna to the Sutlege, I propose to take a general view of the whole belligerent effort, which was expected from the force, of which I will not vainly reiterate the title; to estimate in some sort its adaption to the purposes to be accomplished, and to look generally at the subject in a way which will be best understood, when it is called an examination of the plan of campaign. I shall hope for an indulgent notice from military critics of any errors into which I may fall, in performing this part of my historic duty, if only it shall appear that I have availed myself with candour, diligence, and impartiality of such sources of information as were laid open to me.

I. I commence with an enumeration of the enemies, to whom this force might calculate on being opposed. (1.) In primary line. The horse and foot of the rulers of Candahar were estimated at this period at between four and five thousand men, and it was doubted whether they possessed any moveable artillery.

(2.) The regular army of the Ameer of Cabul

was said not to fall short of fifteen thousand soldiers, chiefly of horse of a good description, that is, if not very correctly disciplined, at least active, resolute, and well-mounted. Besides the guns necessary for the defence of his fortresses, it was also asserted that he had a respectable field artillery.

(3.) Over and above this array of force it was not to be expected that the British army could penetrate into Affghanistan without being exposed to constant attack from the predatory tribes inhabiting its frontier mountains. These would harass, annoy, and impede if they could not oppose any effectual obstacle to the ultimate success of the invasion.

(4.) There was also another foe, who seemed to have escaped the notice of the speculators within the Sutlege at this period. It was reasonable to anticipate from the Ameers of Sinde the bitterest hostility, since the object of the British in coming amongst them was to compel them to submit to conditions most hateful to them: viz., besides the payment of money, a demand to all most unpalatable, the admission of a foreign force within their territorial boundaries, and the establishment of military posts in their country by the British. The three principal Ameers could bring into the

field certainly not fewer than seven, three, and two thousand Sindians—in all twelve thousand soldiers, besides a contingent of mercenary Belooches amounting to at least as many more hardy, resolute, and rapacious men, whom they would be enabled to raise and embody at the shortest notice in the neighbouring territories of our *ally* Mihrab Khan of Kelat.

II. Next in second line, since when the British began to assemble at Kurnal they believed Herat to be yet closely surrounded by its enemies, we might have to encounter (5.) fifty thousand Persians, comprising the *élite* of the Sirbazes and Janbazes, who boasted of a moveable artillery, as well as a siege train, and who might be supposed to have derived some advantage from the British as well as Russian training and instruction of their men and officers, and whose manœuvres in the field might be directed, as their assault on the defences of the capital of Shah Kamran were known to have been, by Count Simonich, or perhaps some more able officer selected from amongst the Muscovite leaders.

III. Who could say, seeing that the policy of Russia had been in former periods of history as bold and unscrupulous at times, as it had been always subtle and persevering, who could

be assured that the reserve of the Persian army of invasion might not consist of (6.) masses of the European legions of the Czar, the conquerors of Erivan and of Varna under the most talented of the generals of the Autocrat? Though there was no positive information, indeed, to show that a single Russian soldier had yet marched across the Persian frontiers with the view of supporting the pretensions of Moohummud Shah to Herat, yet unforeseen events in war might offer an almost irresistible temptation to those, whom we knew at the best to be but hollow-hearted allies, to take the initiative against us. Such a contingency ought to have entered into all reasonable calculations for the invasion of Affghanistan, and the passage of the Helmund under the aspect presented by affairs in October, 1838.

2. Let the objects to be accomplished by the force be reviewed.

I. The first was that, which at the period of the assembly of the army attracted least attention of all on the Bengal side of India, and indeed seems to have been left entirely out of the considerations of its merely speculative politicians, viz., the placing on a stable footing our relations with the Ameers of Sind, deservedly rebuking them for their overtures to Persia of

a character hostile to us, and compelling them on the ground of their insidious negotiations in that quarter to receive garrisons into their country along the whole line of the Indus from Bukkur to Curachie, besides enforcing a prospective recognition of the sovereignty of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and exacting the payment of the arrears of tribute due to him.

II. The second branch of the enterprise was the raising the siege of Herat, supposing it were still beleaguered by the Persians, and the supporting the city against any fresh attack, if already relieved.

III. The third project was the dispersion of any force, which the Barukzye chiefs might be enabled to array for the defence of Candahar and Cabul, the occupation of these two capitals, with the intermediate territory of the Ghiljee tribes, and the fortress of Ghuznee, and the reduction of the country of the Affghans (Herat excepted) under the dominion of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

3. Let every line of operation be successively contemplated. A single glance at the map ascertains the rather singular circumstance that of the entire line of frontier, which the foregoing considerations have characterized as hostile, no part is open to immediate attack from

the territories of the Company excepting in the way of the maritime transmission of a force direct from Bombay to the Sindian coast. In every other direction the states of an ally, or of some power under our patronage or protection lie between us, and the country of our foes. Thus from Peshawur along the whole course of the Indus to the frontier line of the dominions of Meer Roostum Khan the principal Ameer of Khyrpore, which is between Surwace and Subzulkote, no portion of the territories of the Barukzye chiefs can be assailed without passing through a part of those of the ruler of the Punjab. The Northern frontier of Upper Sinde cannot in like manner be attacked by land without traversing the country of the Nawab Bhawul Khan of Bhawulpore, whilst a force in order to march from the Bombay Presidency upon the eastern frontier of Lower Sinde must pass through the states of the Gaikowar, and the Rana of Cutch; and again, an army cantoned at Bukkur on the middle Indus cannot after crossing that river advance above three marches without finding itself in the dependencies neutral or allied, as the case might turn out to be, of Mihrab Khan, the lord paramount of the Belooches, whose province of Cutchee,

governed by his brother, confines a few miles south of Rojhan and Janeedera with that of Shikarpore, which owns the united sway of two of the rulers of the Talpore dynasty; viz., the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore.

It may be supposed that one and all of the princes, whose lands lay between the British, and the objects of their hostile seeking, would regard with a more or less jealous eye, the probability of a passage through them at some period of the coming war of the divisions of the army of the Indus, lest haply some of the causes, which conquerors find or feign, should operate to detain them in their territories for a period long enough to disturb the peace of mind of their masters, and as these misgivings might be calculated to be generated in a direct ratio to the value of the dominions to be traversed, the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh might be supposed to stand at the head of the list of the potentates and petty princes, who may be figured as hourly wishing, that through the air above or under the earth beneath, there had been some safe passage, whereby the army of the Indus, and its terrible *matériel* might have been transported into Affghanistan without the necessity for a visit, however cursory or ami-

cable, to the countries under the rule of these rational alarmists, or even their frontier vicinage.

But supposing the Maha Rajah, and the Nawab of Bhawulpore, and the Gaikowar, and the Rao of Cutch, and Mihrab Khan of Kelat, and the whole of his subordinates to be one, and all consenting to the invasion of the provinces of the Ameers of Sind, and of the Barukzye chiefs through the medium of a transit through their own villages, towns, and cities, then it may, I think, be assumed, that there lay open to the army of the Indus lines of operation, nine in number, from Bengal, and Bombay conjointly.*

Bengalaga in claims precedence in this enumeration. I. (1.) The first and most obvious, as well as the shortest route to be taken into Affghanistan is that from Ferozepore through the Punjab, under the walls of its capital to Attock, Peshawur, Jellalabad, and Cabul. Regarding this line, however, the minds of men in India had been haunted by a terrible bugbear. That range of the Teera mountains, which rests on

* It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that by Bengal, here and elsewhere in the text, are generally meant those provinces which might more precisely be designated as the territories of the Bengal and Agra presidencies.

the Indus at Attock, and terminates to the westward in the lofty peak of Soofeid Koh is full of difficult defiles, and the most tremendous of these was at this period described as winding from Peshawur, twenty-five miles onward in the direction of Jellalabad, its sides and summits being occupied by a hardy race of predatory mountaineers denominated Khyberees, who had from time immemorial considered it their inalienable privilege and birthright to rob and murder travellers, and levy *black mail* from Kafilas. But, as neither Marrees, nor Mooza-rees, nor Kakurs, nor Achikzyes succeeded in arresting the progress of the leading column of the army of the Indus through the Durru of Bolan, or the defile of the Kozuk, and as little could the progress of the Bombay column through the former pass be checked by the levy *en masse* of the Belooche myrmidons of Mibrab Khan collected to oppose them; so neither it may be hoped would the Khyberees have had to boast of bringing to a halt our armament, had it been deemed expedient that it should have moved through the twenty-five miles of frowning and tortuous route, of which the Khyberree freebooter was said at this period to consider himself the prescriptive monarch. Neither because the Sirdars of Runjeet Singh

had since his acquisition of Peshawur suffered themselves to be held at bay by the forces of Ameer Dost Moohummud, and had seemed to acquiesce in the conclusion that the eastern gorge of the defile of the Khyber was to be the limit of their conquest in that direction, was it at all necessary that the British should give way to any senseless apprehension of the fate of the vanquished in the Caudine forks awaiting all who entered in arms this mysterious valley, or despair of either by attack in front or a turning movement or combination contriving to debouche with safety and satisfaction at Duka on the high-road to Jellalabad, and finally in front of that city itself. Let this route therefore be set down as one, by which Affghanistan might have been assailed from the Agra Provinces in December, 1838.

(2.) It is almost a matter of form to notice in the second place the line of Cohat by which, in 1809, Mr. Elphinstone reached Peshawur, since a force moving thereby would, after crossing the Indus near Dera Ismael Khan, and proceeding up the right bank of the river and penetrating a part of the Teera chain, find itself after all at Peshawur two marches from the eastern gorge of *the terrible pass*, which it must still

traverse, or turn before it could reach Jellalabad.

II. But there is a road through Dera Ismael Khan, which must by no means be omitted in our enumeration. Mr. Elphinstone marching from Bhawulpore by Leia reached Dera by crossing the Indus at Caheree ford, fifty miles at least lower down. But if an army breaking up from the Ghara, and skirting Lahore should cross the Chenaub and the Jelum, and come down upon the right bank of the Indus at a point near and opposite Dera, and there establish a bridge; then a passage would be open before it (it is presumed) by marching through that town, where, turning to its right, it would ford the stream of the Gomul, advance to Kaneegorum, and mastering in one place the ascent of the Tukht-i-Soolueman reach Ghuznee in the very heart of the dominion of the ruler of Cahul, and occupy a central position between the capitals, and forces of Dost Moohummud Khan and Kohun Dil Khan. After writing thus it is proper that I should mention that some have been disposed to question the very existence, others the practicability of the route, which I have just indicated. Either assumption rests at present, as it appears to me,

on very insufficient grounds. Surwur Khan, the Kafilā Bashee of the Lohanee merchants, the nature of whose connexion with the army of the Indus will appear in the sequel, has positively affirmed that there is no other route across the Soolueman range into Affghanistan by Dera Ismael Khan than that, which leads from Dera Ghazee Khan, and debouches far to the westward, and nearer to Candahar than to Ghuznee; and Sir Alexander Burnes was disposed to consider his testimony as decisive; but several respectable Affghans residing between Ghuznee and Cabul afterwards maintained the fact of the road by Kaneegorum as above designated, being passable by horse and foot even in the winter season, and only in one place impracticable for guns.

It was of the utmost importance in October, 1838, that the truth in this matter should have been ascertained by a careful reconnoissance and survey; for if artillery could have by any means been transported by this road, it is not difficult to appreciate the immense advantage of being enabled thus to combine upon Ghuznee and Cabul, whilst a false attack might have been made by the route of the Khyber. Though history does not, so far as I am aware, fully establish the fact, yet it appears probable that

by this very route, and not through the Khyber Pass, Muhmood of Ghuznee, and a part also of the forces of Timour, must have marched to invade Hindoostan.

III. Few places in the Indus absorb so much of the attention of the strategist as Dera Ismael Khan, when he looks towards the frontiers and capitals of Affghanistan; for another line of operation is said to present itself, which leads from this town, crossing near its highest ascent indeed the range of Tukht-i-Soolueman, and then branching into two routes, the one conducting without further recorded impediment into the valley of the Urghesan and to Candahar, turning the Gautee range, and the other promising access by a less eligible line into the eastward portion of the valley of Pesheen or Peshing, near Alizye.

It is here to be remarked that the more easterly of these two routes is the same, or not far distant from that, which has been acknowledged as the true road of the Lohanee merchants by Surwur Khan, their Kafil Bashee. When questioned by Sir Alexander Burnes, this individual asserted that it was the practice of his people to assemble at Dera Ghazee Khan, thence travel to Dera Ismael Khan along the bank of the river, and then move on to Dera-

bund,* crossing in their course both the Goomul and the Soolueman range, but debouching considerably to the south-westward of Ghuznee. It is plain, therefore, that either this or the other two routes above adverted to, could only be taken as lines of manœuvre on Candahar. I am not yet in possession of the information which would enable me positively, and exactly to say, to which of these roads properly belongs the received denomination of the Golaree pass.

IV. Omitting more than a bare allusion to other durrus, or small mountain defiles (there are several), which would probably have been found, on trial, dangerous or impracticable, we arrive at the Rowat pass. To reach this the march through the Punjab must be by Mooltan, and thence across the Indus very near to Dera Ghazee Khan. The line then runs through Tull and Chootealy, and by crossing first the Soolueman range, and afterwards the mountains of Sewestan, where, if topographers may be trusted, near the peak of Chupper six ranges

* A memoir and sketch of this route will be found amongst the papers of the *Asiatic Journal*, communicated by Dr. Martin Honigsberg, surgeon in the service of the ruler of the Punjab. This gentleman accompanied the Lohanees into Afghanistan across the Soolueman range.

of the latter run towards a centre, the town of Sira Kila may be gained. Thus an army is landed in another way in the valley of Pesheen, and may advance on Candahar.

V. There is yet another road of which Dera Ghazee Khan is the *tête-de-file*, viz., that which passes through Hurrend and Dajil, hereditary possessions of Shah Shooja, but now part and parcel of the guaranteed dominion of the ruler of Lahore, and thence by Lheree and Bhag to Dadur. From the last-named town it is coincident with the entrance into Affghanistan, the most celebrated of all in these latter days, by which the country has been twice assailed within five years, once by the grandson of Ahmed Shah, unaided, in 1834, and again, with a more favourable result, by the British army, on his behalf, in 1839.

VI. This is the Bolan pass, to which we now come in due order. It was the plan of the supreme government of India to cause their armies to advance by this durru from Bukkur; which they were to constitute their place of strength, and great depot on the Indus. Shikarpore, which is the next important post, is only two marches further to the northward, and one short stage beyond this the boundary line of Cutchee or Cutch Gundava is crossed. There succeeds a

considerable tract of desert, but as some wells were always to be found in it, and the number was greatly increased by the British at the villages of Rojhan, Burshoree, Meerpore, and Oostar, there is no insurmountable obstacle to the passage of a large army by small detachments at a time, in the cooler months. After April the desert is swept by a pestilential simoom, and the heat becomes too great for any troops to keep the field in Cutchee; nor is the salubrity increased when the descent of rain converts the low level of the whole province into a swamp of salt marshes. From Oostar there is one march only to Bhag, where the brother of Mihrab Khan holds his court, and thence again one more to the village of Muhesir, on the Bolan river. This place stands without the first defiles of the Brahoik or Hala range. They can easily be turned, and are passed when a force reaches Noushuhra. Hence it will have to make but one march more to Dadur.

The towns of Bhag and Dadur, as well as Shikarpore, are naturally to be reckoned successive places of arms; and an advancing force ought, with the view of securing its water as well as its communications, to establish small posts in the mud fortresses of the villages of

Janeedera, Rojhan, Burshoree, and Meerpore. At Dadur commences the labour of passing the mountain range, but the ascent through the durru of Bolan, following the meanderings of its river, is not painful, until the columns approach Siri Bolan, that streamlet's source, and thence one day's effort brings them into the table-land called the Dusht-i-bee-doulut, or "Poverty-stricken plain." An army passes easily over that level to Kwote, or Kwettah in Shawl, another excellent place of arms, which boasts a wall of curtains and round towers, a ditch, and a citadel; and from it descends to the lower valleys of Koochlak and Peesheen, crosses the Lora, and the range of mountains called Khojah Amran, into the plains beyond, and choosing its road through the not difficult passes of the Gautee hills, reaches the rivers Dooree and Urghesan, the latter of which it may find filled with water, or dry, according to the season; and lastly, the plain, on which stands Candahar.

It is clear that, as a force from Bengal would advance through the Bolan by marching down the bank of the Indus, and crossing the territorial boundary of Upper Sinde, between Surwae and Subzulkote, or moving from Dera Ghazee Khan to Dadur, according to the line

selected, so one from Bombay might, in like manner, approach this famous pass, by ascending either bank of the same great river. This line of advance, therefore, is as it were, common to both contingents. We proceed to look at those which belong to Bombay alone.

VII. A force destined to invade Sinde, or to co-operate in the passage of the frontiers of Affghanistan, embarking at Bombay or at Mandavie in Cutch might with ease land at a point on either bank of the Hujamree branch of the Indus, or make a descent at Curachie after overcoming the fire of its fort. There are indeed very strong currents on the coast, and shallows, and a very sudden and extraordinary ebb and flow at the mouth of the great river. Violent storms too have often to be encountered there, such as that which had so nearly arrested the progress of Burnes in 1831. But with good transports, able launches, and a well-equipped steamer to aid the expedition, there was not much reason to dread disaster. How the force thus debarked on the margin of the sea, or the bank of the great river was to obtain means of transport in a hostile country for ulterior operations is an important consideration, which must be reserved for a more fitting opportunity.

VIII. and IX. Until better instructed I must hold it to have been a thing feasible that the Bombay army fully equipped within the limits of its own presidency, and amply provided with camels and provisions, should, if assembled at Deesa, have marched on Hyderabad by Omerkote and Meerpore, detaching troops for the reduction of the little fort of Islamkote; or, if brought together at Bhooj, should have reached the same point by manœuvring on Lucput and Tatta, a maritime force in either case co-operating to the full extent, to which such aid was required, viz., by demolishing the defences of Curachee, seizing that point, and transporting provisions only up the Indus, preferably, I should imagine, by the Pittee branch in as close communication as possible with the armament on shore. The objects in Sinde effected, either with or without the support of one or more of the Bengal brigades, a junction with its main body would be the next thing to be desired. It appears to me that the safest point for this purpose was Bukkur, though so long as the Candahar Affghans had no levies ready to take the field, it might have been carried into effect at Shikarpore, or Dadur, or further on, as it actually was, at Kwettah in Shawl. Thence-

forth, that is from the point of union wherever it might be, the two contingents would operate on the same line of advance.

It has been remarked that the frontiers of Affghanistan are fenced in on every side from assault from Bengal by the territories of allied powers, or in other words, that large fragments of the kingdom of Cabul, and its dependencies, which descended intact to the immediate successor of Ahmed Shah, had been broken off and separated from the mass during the struggles which supervened in the days of his sons. Many provinces had fallen into the hands of the ruler of the Punjab, the feudatory Bhawal Khan had become his own master, and Cutchee, which as a portion of Beloochistan, owed once a nominal submission to the head of the Doo-ranee empire, had passed into a state of undisguised independence. Now the Khan of Khelat, as well as the Nuwab of Bhawulpore, was considered, in 1838, to have been our ally, and as the Muharajah Runjeet Singh was united to us by the closest ties of amity, it is evident that the diminished frontier line of the Barukzye chiefs could not be attacked without passing through an allied or friendly territory. But this ought not to have been a reason for hesitating to take any one of the six first lines of

operation, which have been successively reviewed; for, 1st, the Khan of Khelat always professed to welcome the entrance of our troops into his states at the foot of the Brahoik range, however singular might be the marks of favour bestowed on our followers and stragglers by some of the wilder of his subjects; and, 2ndly, the Nuwab Bhawul Khan was, as we shall see, consistently hospitable; and, 3rdly, our great confederate under the *Tripartite treaty*, must either on due representation have acceded to our request for a free passage for troops, stores, and cannon, through the Punjab or Moul-tan, or it may be supposed, that the governor-general of India would have well known briefly how to signify to him his opinion of the aspect of affairs, and to make him sensible that a great crisis had arrived, when all that were not cordially and unequivocally for us, must be held to be against us, and that Persians, Sindians, and the Barakzye chiefs had sided with Russia, had become our open or detected adversaries, and that it behoved his highness the Maharaja also to make his election categorically. If, therefore, negotiation had failed, force of arms would have opened for us a passage through such parts of the Punjab as would have enabled us to advance upon any of the lines embraced

in the five first sections of the foregoing enumeration.

But the government saw good reason for ordering the advance of the army of the Indus to be conducted by the sixth route, viz., that of the Bolan. It may have been led to form this determination by some one or more of the following reasons: 1st, The governor-general might have deemed the ready, cheerful, and confiding co-operation of Runjeet Singh of such importance as to render him unwilling to run the risk of giving the slightest umbrage in that quarter, or awakening suspicions by even hinting a desire to cause a powerful army to traverse any part of the newly-acquired dominions which were now guaranteed to the wily and favoured usurper. 2ndly, It might from the first have been thought probable that both contingents would have to co-operate towards a satisfactory adjustment of affairs in Sinde. Or, 3rdly, if the force from Bombay were deemed ample for this purpose, it might have been objected to any plan of attack on a line further to the north-east than the Bolan, that it would deprive the contingent from Bengal altogether of the aid of that from the other presidency in ulterior operations. Or 4thly, it might up to the end of October, 1838, since the news of the raising of

the siege of Herat did not reach Simlah before November, have been considered politic to forego every other advantage for the sake of meeting the most pressing danger first, and commencing our efforts by supporting Shah Kamran in his energetic resistance to the Persians. Whether any or all or none of these considerations weighed with the government, its resolution was at least not kept secret; but as early as August it was known in our upper provinces, that on the line above indicated under the sixth head the force from Bengal was to move, and that with that view depots and magazines had been established in the territories of the Nuwab Bhawul Khan, and that the British agent for the encouragement of commerce on the Indus, Lieutenant Mackeson, had been instructed to improve with the khan's concurrence, the roads down the left bank of the Gharra, and that boats had been collected at his capital, and brought up to Ferozepore for the transport of grain down the great stream.

Kurnal was the point, which had been fixed on for the provisional assembly of the mass of the artillery under Brigadier Graham, and of the two divisions of infantry under Major-generals Sir Willoughby Cotton and Duncan.

Upon this station, therefore, a whole brigade moved from Meerut, and another from Agra ; whilst the several corps of native infantry, which came from more distant points, approached it independently at as rapid a pace as circumstances of climate would permit. Of the cavalry, which Brigadier Arnold was to command, the lancers and the 2nd light cavalry were at Meerut. Their route to Ferozepore was to be through Delhi, where the camel battery was to be temporarily united to them, whilst the 3rd light cavalry, which made up the number of regiments of the brigade, having been cantoned at Kurnal, was, by an arrangement of like duration, to follow the direction of the artillery brigade up to the bank of the Gharra. Brigadier Arnold's force, as having the longer line of road to move over, was earliest put in motion, whilst Brigadier Graham, and Generals Cotton and Duncan, after having, under instructions from head-quarters, encamped their brigades and divisions at Kurnal, carefully inspected the several corps, and seen to the supply of every departmental and regimental deficiency, stood ready to proceed to the point of more general rendezvous.

Orders had been issued about this time to make a very valuable addition to the force by

the formation into a brigade of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th regiments of local horse. To whom, at such a crisis, could the command of these irregulars be so fitly intrusted as to Colonel James Skinner, the oldest and most experienced of the partisan leaders of British India? Under him, with the rank of brigadier, it was proposed that these corps should have been united, and taken the field. His head-quarters, therefore, had to be transferred early in November from Hansi, the permanent station, in quiet times, of his own corps, to Ferozepore.

The route of the Bengal force lay through the territories commonly denominated the Independent Sikh states. These are petty dominions on the left bank of the Sutlege and Gharra, with which Runjeet Singh is, by treaty, prohibited from interfering, and which have thus been saved from his grasp. The rulers of this confederation regard the Governor-general of India in some sort as its protector, and some of these pigmy circles have already lapsed, and others will come into the possession of the British, in default of heirs, on the death of their late and present masters. The lands of this knot of petty sovereigns are bounded on the south-east by the British territories; on the north by those of that powerful neighbour, whose rule,

like Aaron's rod, has at length swallowed up all other domination in the Punjab; and to the westward by the state of the Nuwab of Bhawulpore, and yield revenue at present to the Rajahs of Pattiala, Kythul, and numerous other "Tritons of the minnows." A British agent, stationed at Umballa, watches from that point over the interests of his own government, which he represents at all these small Durbars and exercises, in its name, a benign and salutary influence over these rude and ignorant rulers. His task, at this conjuncture, became specially important. On him and his assistants devolved the superintendence of the cutting and improving of as many routes as might be traversed without inconvenience to each other by the several columns of the force about to be put in motion, and the care of forming by means of the Ameens, and other public officers of the petty princes, numerous magazines of grain of every description on the several lines of advance, as well as of securing the peaceable conduct, and aid in various ways, whenever it might be required, of the working population. From these districts also had been drawn a considerable portion of the camels with their drivers, which were to form the means of transport of the troops of all arms. This, too, had

been done through the same instrumentality. These were not light duties, and therefore it was a most favourable circumstance that the intendancy of these states rested at this time in the hands of an individual combining so much of experience and local information, with the energy, personal activity, and indefatigable zeal which were united in the political agent, Mr. George Clerk.

The instructions from head-quarters, as promulgated in general orders, had prescribed that the force should advance to Ferozepore in four columns; but in this number neither the camps of the governor-general or commander-in-chief, nor the brigade of local horse, were included; so that, in fact, seven considerable bodies of troops and followers were traversing the protected states between the 8th and 30th November.

1. The governor-general with his suite, civil departments, and administrations escorted by the 4th Bengal light cavalry, and detachments of native infantry, moved from Simla by Rooper, cutting into the great route to Ferozepore at Loodiana, and reaching the Sutlege on the 27th November.

2. The commander-in-chief, and the general staff (Queen's and Company's) of the Indian

army, including those officers, who had been chosen to proceed with his excellency on the meditated expedition beyond the Indus, starting from the same point, descended to Subathoo, Pinjore, and Múnnee Majra, and crossed the route of Brigadier Graham near Kureemkee Suræe, and that of the 2d division of infantry near Basseen. His line of road thus becoming coincident with that of the first division at Bhaga Poorana, his march terminated at Ferozepore on the 25th November.

3. Brigadier Graham with his artillery, and the 3rd light cavalry moved from Kurnal to Ferozepore by the main road of Thanesir, Umballa, and Loodiana, accomplishing his task between the 6th and 28th November.

4. General Duncan broke up from Kurnal on the 7th November, and moved nearly north-west. Leaving the great Loodiana route, and the town of Patiala to the eastward, and right of his force, he passed through the several places called Pekah, Sumana, Basseen, and Sooltan Khanwala, and arrived at Ferozepore on the 26th November.

5. Sir Willoughby Cotton reached it on the same day, having marched under the picturesque towers and town of Khytul, the capital of the Raj of the same name, crossed the Guggur

river near Passawur, and prosecuted his route by Bhudour, Bhaga Poorana, and Moodukee.

6. Brigadier Arnold marched from Meerut upon Delhi on the 30th October. Joined there by the Camel battery, he passed near to Moonuka, the line of the Guggur, and proceeding onward through Monuk, Jeewund, and Fureed kot, reached the camp of rendezvous on the 28th November.

7. The head-quarters of the irregular brigade breaking up from Hansi, moved by a route yet further to the westward, passing through Hissar, Futtihabad and Butinda, and which became identical, one march short of Furreed kot, with that of the cavalry of Meerut.

Thus by the last of November, the camp of the governor-general had been three days fixed on a spot within four miles of the Gharra, whilst the Bengal artillery, cavalry, infantry, and irregular horse of the army of the Indus, were disposed two miles nearer to the walls of Ferozepore on an extensive line of encampment. The Maharaja, meanwhile, on his side had occupied the right bank of the river with ten thousand of his troops, and a numerous artillery, and had pitched on a sandy eminence his imposing array of tents, pavilions, and kunauts of crimson cashmere shawl-cloth.

Messages of courtesy were passing between the Governor-general of India and his Highness, across the bridge of boats, which had been established over the Gharra.

Ferozepore was well chosen as the scene of the political interviews between the rulers of British India and of the Punjab; but it is to be related that before the army had reached this point, important intelligence had come from the north-westward, to the effect that the representations of the Queen of England's government made through the British envoy, Doctor McNeil, had at length prevailed, and that Moohummud Shah had withdrawn in haste his forces from before Herat, and was retiring by rapid marches on his own capital. The effect of this event was felt immediately in the army of the Indus. An interview took place between Sir Henry Fane and Sir Willoughby Cotton at Bhaga Poorana, at which it was announced that, in consequence of the decrease in the magnitude of the objects to be effected, a corresponding diminution would take place in the numbers of the force; that it would not longer be esteemed necessary that Sir Henry Fane should retain the command, and that he accordingly would avail himself of the present opportunity (his successor being expected, in consequence

of his excellency's own application, to arrive in India in February, 1839) of realizing his long cherished wish of returning to his native land. That he would therefore embark on the Gharra at Ferozepore, and proceed down the Indus to Bombay, leaving the charge of the troops of the Presidency to Sir Willoughby Cotton, up to the moment at which they might be united to those from Bombay, when the command of the whole would devolve on Sir John Keane.

A change also was to take place in the Bengal contingent. A division was to be left under General Duncan, to observe the Sutlege, and a reduction of the artillery of the force was to be carried into effect. It became necessary to fix the corps, which were to remain at Ferozepore, and as this detention in the background would be painful and unpalatable to all, Sir Henry Fane, like Timour consulting the Koran before he marched into Hindoostan, determined that the matter should be decided by lot. The result of this military sortilege completed in his excellency's tent, was announced to be, that of the infantry, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th brigades should move forward, and the 3rd and 5th remain near the Gharra, an arrangement which left the army the aid of the services of the 13th light infantry, and Bengal European regiment;

but deprived it of that of the Buffs. Under the excitement and depression arising from the knowledge of these recent events, and meditated changes, the corps of the army in succession reached Ferozepore.

The breaking up of the force, which had been encamped on the extensive plains, that surround the cantonment of Kurnal had been marked by a circumstance strongly characteristic of Indian warfare. The troops of several arms belonging to the 1st and 2nd divisions of infantry, and the artillery under Brigadier Graham, and the cavalry, which accompanied it, were to move on the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th of November. As the routes had all been distinctly indicated, and it was known to every one that whilst Brigadier Graham was to march by the better frequented, but more circuitous road through Umballa, the two divisions of infantry were to follow the less beaten tracks through the centre of the Sikh states, no confusion was anticipated. As regarded the troops and *matériel*, good care was taken that there should be none; but who can control the current of the imagination of the followers of an Indian army, give wisdom or intelligence to a *surwan*, or sagacity to a *coolly*?

It is usual, when no foe is near, to despatch in

advance with the officers and non-commissioned officers, who perform the duties of previous castrametation, small tents, which constitute on the arrival of the columns provisional places of shelter for their owners from a burning sun. Thus, when the troops reach their ground, a little town is seen already marked out with flags of various colours, and a few white *routies*, *pals*, and *bee chobas*, so these minor tabernacles are named, already indicate the direction of the canvass streets, which are soon to be reared up and peopled. But though on this occasion no pains had been spared to make the distinction of columns and brigades clear to all understandings, and to explain the situation of the three several camps, Hindoostanee perversity had defeated all precaution, the *peeshkhuemu* (advance tents) of part of the infantry had boldly steered for Leela Kheree, the first march of Brigadier Graham; the camels of General Duncan's columns were found browsing and bewildered after their night's march in the encampment of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and clamorous followers of the division of the latter were shivering in the morning's cold, and lamenting their labour lost in the lines of General Duncan. It was an affair of patience. By noon, by dint of counter-marching, retracing

their footsteps, and ploughing their way across country, from route to route, both baggage, animals, and followers, with their tents and various loads had jumbled with tolerable success into their places, and the direction of the road having been once ascertained, there was some hope of better sailing on the morrow.

This was the ludicrous portion of the affair, the humour of the low life of the scene. The march of the columns themselves was conducted after another fashion. As the towns and villages of the Sikh states were small, and the inhabitants had for many years seen little of armaments beyond the occasional progress of a commander-in-chief, or the passage of bodies of the irregular troops of their own Sardars, and as a scarcity of water was in some places to be apprehended, the first division of infantry moved in three columns on successive days. Twelve years had elapsed since the officers of the 13th had been summoned to the duties of actual service, and as at three o'clock in the morning of the 8th November the bugles of the first brigade were heard, and the columns were put in motion by moonlight into the cross roads, which conducted from the level around the cantonment to the tracks (roads would be a misnomer), over sandy plains, and through

dreary jungle, which led to Kythul, thoughts crowded into the mind of the distant land into which we had last carried war, and its concomitants; and anticipations followed of the long and untried routes which now lay before us, and of the important changes in the destiny and character of nations hidden in the clouds, that cover the future, which we were marching to effect, and of that series of adventures, of which this first turn out was the opening prelude, but the sequel or issue of which to states or individuals none could foresee. Thus meditating we rode on towards the encampment of Neesingh.

When the traveller or soldier passes the boundaries of the British provinces into those of the native rulers around, he commonly perceives that the transition is distinctly marked by a deteriorated state of agriculture and roads, the absence of an effective police, and the meaner appearance of the villages. The dominions of the Rajah of Kythul formed no exception to this rule. He is an unfortunate bed-ridden sufferer from a complication of diseases, and his dissolution being at this time daily expected, the British functionaries were looking forward in the hope not only of his domains, but of some lacs, which he and his predecessors

had hoarded, falling into the possession of their masters. The division reached on the third day his capital, and halted near it on the fourth, which was the sabbath. His Muhul, or royal dwelling, is a picturesque collection of lofty buildings, on a height commanding a town of thirty thousand inhabitants. The divisions pursued their march without incident worthy of remark. Though the roads run generally over deep and heavy sands they had, under the auspices of Mr. Clerk, been rendered perfectly practicable, and his excellent arrangements had secured for the troops sufficient supplies of every description. The Ameens of the native chieftains were in the camps, and attended to all requisitions, and they doubtless profited not a little by a season so favourable for speculation; there was abundance of every thing; and no complaints, on the part of the inhabitants, no breaches of discipline, no plunder, no outrage on that of the troops. Lack of water had been apprehended; but as the brigades moved consecutively, the supply from the wells was found insufficient on one halting-ground only, and that for a few short hours. Every where else there was for the regiments in each encampment an abundance of this prime necessary of life, an advantage which subsequent events

taught the soldiers of this force properly to appreciate.

On the morning of the 26th our leading column, as it paused in darkness for a few minutes, felt the breeze blow with unusual freshness. We were approaching the waters of the Gharra. We passed by the glimmering light of daybreak through the walled town of Ferozepore, the ditch of which had been deepened, and its defences improved by our engineers, and in the plains a few hundred yards beyond found the lines of a vast encampment already traced out, in which we took our places.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. A force has never been brought together in any country in a manner more creditable and soldierlike than was the Bengal portion of the army of the Indus. Many of the regiments had harassing marches to perform before they could reach Kurnal, but all arrived there in the highest order. It was a measure wise and impartial to select for the service those corps, which the commander-in-chief in his recent tours of inspection had remarked as having attained to a high point of discipline and efficiency.

2°. The advance through the protected Sikh

states is worthy of all praise. The selection of the routes was good, and the manner in which the roads were rendered practicable for every arm, and supplies brought upon each line of communication, reflected much credit on the exertions and cheerful co-operation of the political authorities, and the commissariat department.

3°. In completing these marches generals of division and brigadiers were necessarily independent for the time of all superior control. To them, therefore, the credit is due of the exactest discipline having been preserved. The Sikh population not only sustained no inconvenience whatever from the passage of this large force through their country, but were great gainers by the sale at a good price of their grain, and other commodities. They afterwards ill requited the army for this considerate and liberal behaviour. A great portion of its camels and their drivers had been hired for the campaign on terms of ample remuneration from their districts. Sikh *surwans* were the first to set the example of that desertion, which crippled the force so grievously in its march down the banks of the Gharra and Indus.

4°. It has been seen that the raising of the

siège of Herat led to a diminution in the force to be actively employed. This might have been reasonable, but surely the mode in which it was carried into effect was erroneous, not to say puerile. Was it not the province of the commander-in-chief definitively and without appeal to decide what portion of the army still left at his disposal was the fittest to carry into execution the further plans of government? Surely this was as legitimate a discharge of his functions as the original selection of corps, or their partition into brigades and divisions. It was a difficulty for the solution of a nice discrimination, and a case for the exercise of a sound military judgment, not a matter to be decided by the casting of the lot, or put upon the hazard of the die. Sir Henry Fane need not thus have distrusted, nor paid so poor a compliment to his own sagacity and impartiality: the one had seldom been at fault in India or in Europe, the other was above suspicion. Sortilege, after all, did little for the army in one instance; for it sent forward to the labours of the campaign the 13th light infantry, then, as ever, zealous indeed, and full of alacrity: but even at Ferozepore shattered by disease; the spirit of its soldiers willing, but their physical powers

unequal to the task ; whilst it doomed to inactivity the Buffs, one of the most effective European corps in India.

5°. The 2nd division of infantry was left with a large proportion of artillery to observe temporarily the line of the Sutlege, supporting itself on the fortress of Ferozepore ; but ought not a yet greater change than this to have been made in the plan of the campaign ? So soon as it was known that the Persians had retreated, the most urgent of the remaining objects was the overthrow of Dost Moohummud Khan. For this purpose, whilst the force of the Sikhs aided by British artillery, and by the irregular force under the direction of Colonel Wade, and accompanied by the Shahzada Timour, eldest son of Shah Shooja, threatened the pass of Khyber, ought not the Bengal contingent of the army of the Indus to have debouched by the lower Punjab, crossed the great river, near Dera Ismael Khan, and preceded by its sappers, whose labours would have sufficed to render the route through Kaneegorum, Beermul, and Shorkuch practicable, moved upon and captured Ghuznee, and made it the centre of its operations ? Would not this at once have had the effect of laying all Affghanistan at the feet of the exiled monarch, since it would have opened

the way to both Candahar and Cabul, and probably have placed the reinstated sovereign in a few weeks in his eastern capital? I venture to think that such would have been the results of this combination; premising, however, that this opinion is based on the hypothesis of the practicability of a direct road to Ghuznee across the Soolueman range, which no British officer had, up to the end of 1838, tested by actual survey. Whether these views be correct or not, they have at least not been originated after the knowledge of recent events, but were entertained and promulgated three months before the army took the field.

Would not the Bombay contingent (*if it had marched instead of sailing* from its presidency) have amply sufficed for the capture of Hyderabad, and the reduction of Bukkur, whilst, in case of need, the Bengal reserve at Ferozepore might have advanced to its aid? The grand superiority of such an enterprise over an invasion by the Bolan consists in the shortness of the routes, the close and concentric character of the combination upon Cabool, the promise of an early termination of the contest when a blow had thus been struck at a vital part, and the avoiding the opprobrium of the plan, which was in effect adopted, viz. a line, or to speak

more truly a circle of communication of fifteen hundred miles perpetually interrupted along its whole extent, and insulted by the bands of every predatory chief, who could boast himself the master of five muskets. I have imbodyed the foregoing queries, and indulged in the foregoing speculations, as matter of reflection for those who have made war their study far more successfully than I can ever hope to do. The selection of a line of operations is commonly a task so beset with conflicting difficulties, that those, who have been the most accustomed to weigh examples of this portion of the strategic art will be the least disposed to dogmatize in their review of the decisions of others. The important subject discussed in this paragraph will be considered in another division of this work in connexion with circumstances, to which it would be an inconvenient interruption of the sequence of the narrative at present more particularly to advert.

6°. The mischief of overweighting the soldier with his knapsack, which in Indian wars he has not ordinarily been called upon to carry, excepting when, as in Ava for instance, means of transport have literally not been procurable, has been already noticed. Perhaps it was the only error committed in originally preparing

for the field the army of the Indus. The judicious, zealous, and far from inconsiderate commander was probably misled in this instance by his almost exclusively European experience. He would have done well to have listened regarding this matter to some of the many officers around him, whose long acquaintance with warfare in India, and intimate knowledge of its climate, and its effects on the physical powers of the soldier, gave them a claim to attention. One of the evil consequences of this mandate was, that as literal obedience was soon found to be absolutely impracticable, neglect of its tenour was very generally connived at throughout the force—a state of things always injurious to discipline.

CHAPTER II.

Camps on both banks of the Gharra—Visit of Runjeet Singh—Return visit of Lord Auckland—Festivities—Reviews—Detail of movements—Review of the Sikhs—Character of their tactics—Observations.

SIR HENRY FANE had arrived on the ground of the grand encampment on the 25th of November, and when the 1st division came up, it found him controlling by his personal observation all the arrangements, which were in progress. From time to time, on the morning of the 26th, discharges of artillery and a roll of musketry, from the right bank of the river, which flowed along our front, but owing to the distance and nature of the country was not to be discerned from our tents, proved the activity in military exercises of the troops of the potent Sikh ruler.

On the 27th the governor-general reached

the spot selected for him, and from that time to the breaking up of his camp, to proceed to Lahore on his visit to the Maha Rajah, reviews, interviews, and entertainments followed in rapid succession. I shall confine myself to a very brief account of these showy pageants, gay doings, and feats of mimic war.

I. Interviews—1. The Maha Rajah paid his visit to the Governor-general on the 28th inst. His lordship's camp was about four miles from the bank of the Gharra. It consisted of a wide street of large tents, in the centre of which was the suite of lofty and spacious apartments of canvass used for the purposes of the Durbar. There is an established ceremonial on these occasions. An escort of all arms usually lines the space between the pavilions for some hundred yards, and the elephants of the British *suwarree* are drawn up in front of the Durbar tent. As the approach of the visiter is announced, the *howdas* of these stately animals are quickly filled by the governor-general and his suite, the secretaries, diplomatists, and all the superior officers present. The united staffs and suites of Lord Auckland and Sir Henry Fane were, on the day of this interview, imposing, and the display of elephants little less than magnificent; but as the salute of ordnance—

the recognised harbinger of the coming of the Maharaja—was heard, all interest was concentrated in the person of the crafty, bold, and fortunate adventurer, who begun his career as a simple Sikh sirdar, and has ended it as lord of the Punjab, Mooltan, Cashmere, and the territory of Peshawur.

The British *suwarree* moved forward a few yards to pay the compliment of the *istiqbal* as it is called, or initiative advance in meeting; both *suwarrees* having halted for a moment before this courteous concession was made. Lord Auckland habited in a blue coat embroidered with gold, and wearing the ribbon of the bath, his secretaries in the showy diplomatic costume of similar colour and richness, Sir Henry Fane in the uniform of a general-officer covered with orders, the tallest, and most stately person in the whole procession of both nations, the numerous staffs of the civil ruler and military chief in handsome uniforms, made altogether “a gallant show,” as their animals, with a simultaneous rush urged by the blows and voices of the *mohauts* moved to the front. Forward to meet them then came on a noisy and disorderly though gorgeous rabble of Sikh horse and foot men, shouting out the titles of their great sirdar, some habited in glittering

brocade, some in the *busunttee*, or bright spring yellow dresses, which command so much respect in the Punjab, some wearing chain armour. But behind these clamorous foot and cavaliers were the elephants of the Lord of Lahore ; and seated in the foremost was seen an old man in an advanced stage of decrepitude, clothed in faded crimson, his head wrapped up in folds of cloth of the same colour. His single eye still lighted up with the fire of enterprise, his gray hair and beard, and countenance of calm design, assured the spectators that this could be no other than the old " Lion of the Punjab."

The shock of elephants at the moment of meeting is really terrific. More than a hundred of these active and sagacious, but enormous animals, goaded on by their drivers in contrary directions, are suddenly brought to a standstill by the collision of opposing fronts and foreheads. This is the most interesting moment ; for now the governor-general, rising up in his *howda*, approaches that of Runjeet, returns his *salam*, embraces him, and, taking him by the arm, and supporting his tottering frame, places him by his side on his own elephant. All this is managed amidst the roaring, trumpeting, pushing, and crushing of impetuous and gigantic animals, and then the one-eyed monarch having

cordially shaken hands with Sir Henry Fane, and every one of the two suites, whom he recognised (as the parties to receive his lordly greeting, leant over the railing of their lofty vehicles), the beast which bore the burden of the two rulers was, with difficulty, wheeled about in the crowd, and the whole of both *suwarrees* rushed tumultuously and *pêle-mêle* after it towards the entrance of the durbar tent. Woe to the rider whose elephant should, in this truly awful tumult, be brought to the ground by a false step, or the lateral pressure of his impatient neighbours ; for such luckless individual there would be no escape from death under the feet of these terrible animals, excepting in the single mode of evasion, which can be attempted with any hope of success, viz., by climbing or scrambling as soon as the huge creature was felt to sink, without a moment's hesitation, and with the utmost activity, into the *howda* nearest to that of the party endangered, although the adjacent seat might happen to be that of the ruler of the Punjab himself. No such accident, however, actually occurred, though many seemed to be inevitable.

The next danger, and trial of alertness, is to leap from your elephant, descend the ladder, and make your way under the heads and trunks,

and near the threatening feet of a throng of other animals of the same caliber to the door of the audience-tent. Such was the crush on this occasion, and so violent the contest for priority of admission, that many of the attendant Sikhs either felt or feigned alarm for the safety of their chief, and, as if apprehending treachery (no novelty at such receptions in Indian history), began to blow their matches, and grasp their weapons with an air of mingled distrust and ferocity. At length a passage was cleared for all, and some graver matters of state having been discussed by the two rulers, assisted by their secretaries and sirdars, the usual forms of presents, and *pawn and uttar* succeeded. A strange incident closed the scene: In a retired part of the suite of tents were placed two very handsome, well-cast howitzers, intended as complimentary gifts to the Sikh ruler. These he came forth from the council tent, supported by Sir Henry Fane, to see. The light in the recesses of these spacious pavilions was glimmering and crepusculous, and the aged Maha Rajah, heedless of the shells, which were piled in pyramids below, was stepping up towards the muzzles of the guns, when his feet tripped amidst the spherical missiles, and in a moment he lay prostrate

on his face, and at full length upon the floor in front of the cannon. The kind and prompt exertions of Sir Henry replaced him instantaneously on his legs; but the spectacle of the lord of the Punjab extended in involuntary obeisance before the mouths of British artillery was regarded by the Sikhs as a picture of fearful omen.

The counter-visit of the governor-general introduced a display of a kind very different from the foregoing, but picturesque and interesting. The two British suites passed down from the tents at an early hour in the morning through the lofty jungle and reeds to the ford of the Gharra. The river was securely bridged, and the elephants did not hesitate, one after the other, to venture on the planks, which trembled beneath their ponderous pressure. On the right bank the lancers, as the *élite* of the British cavalry, were drawn up on either side, and beyond them, in extended and glittering line, helmeted and habited in long dresses of yellow, were seen the horsemen of the Punjab. As the governor-general approached the point of salutation, the Maha Rajah, in his turn, advanced on his elephant to meet him as the guest of this morning, and, as he received him into his *howda*, a startling and irregular rattle of

small artillery was heard from the *Zumbooruks*, or swivels, mounted on the back of camels, and fired by their drivers, who now lined the adjacent bank. The animals, on which these grotesquely-habited *Zumboorukchees* were mounted aloft, frightened at the noise of their own guns, moved wildly about at each discharge, and, in the midst of this deafening din, the *suwarrees*, Sikh and British, advanced through a street of the picked cavalry, or *ghorchurhas*, of the Maha Rajah, very wretchedly mounted, and of infantry, steadily drilled by the French officers, until they reached the lofty portal of a gay pavilion of crimson shawl-cloth.

The party entered, and after much squeezing and slowly making their way in the sun between alleys and parterres of shrubs and flowers, at length ascended a platform, and found itself under the shade of a rich canopy, where the Maha Rajah took his seat, with Lord Auckland on his right, and Sir Henry Fane on his left; Runjeet's sirdas, and the British secretaries, generals and staff, being disposed around as resting-places could be found for them. Notwithstanding all the lofty pretensions to precise etiquette of Eastern durbars, "heaven's first law," order, is perpetually forgotten in their

ceremonies. Much conversation ensued between the rulers, which was carried on of course through the medium of an interpreter; and then followed the degrading scene of a crowd of dancing-girls and male buffoons introduced to amuse the illustrious visitors. In truth, the pastime seemed little to the taste of either of them, and when at length it was brought to a conclusion, the whole party made a circuit of the splendid tents erected behind the canopy, admired the silver camp-bed of the Maha Rajah, and praised, as well they might, the richness and beauty of the shawl-cloth pavilions. The light, which entered through their *kunats*, refracted by their crimson walls and roofs, gave to all the gold on the dresses of both nations the appearance of silver, turned all the scarlet into white, and displayed all countenances as overspread with a ghastly paleness.

II. There was an evening entertainment given on either bank, the amusements of which were similar. They consisted of fireworks on a scale of Eastern magnificence, the assemblage of all that was costly and splendid in either camp, and the exhibitions of the songstresses and dancers of the Punjab. The time will, it is to be hoped, come in India when national custom will be no longer pleaded as an excuse for the introduc-

tion, as on this occasion, of groups of choral and dancing prostitutes, for such these Kunchunees are known to be, into the presence of the ladies of the family of a British Governor-general, or those of individuals of a nation professing to fence its morals with the securities of decorum. The manners of Runjeet Singh were on these evenings peculiarly his own. He sat on his *musnud*, jesting familiarly with all who approached him, and pressing, almost forcing upon his illustrious guests on the right bank, and noble host and gallant friend of former days on the left margin of the river, potations from his own cup of the fiery beverage, which he himself quaffs with delight: a distilled spirit, which a Sikh alone can duly appreciate. The hardest drinker in the British camp could not with impunity indulge in its use for six successive nights; but Runjeet, as brutally pre-eminent amongst Punjabees in his vices, as he is unrivalled in astuteness in entrapping his enemies, or skill in organizing the means of overpowering them in the field, has made it his "pet tippie" some forty years. The effect of this debauchery has been to aggravate the symptoms of paralysis, under which this extraordinary man has suffered so long, and if not to impair his judgment or exacerbate his tem-

per, certainly to abridge the period of that rule, which the craft, dexterity, and boldness of his policy have rendered so magnificent. Kurruck Singh, the heir of this great ruler, the fraternal sirdars, Dhyan Singh, Goolab Singh, and Soochet Singh, the minion; Heera Singh, son of the elder brother of this trio; Kooshial Singh, commonly called the Jemadar; the Minister Uzceez-ood-deen, and Hindoo Rao, brother of the Byza Bhye, the ex-regent of Gwalior, took a part in these festivities, all brilliantly jewelled and superbly habited.

III. The tactics and warlike forces of both nations were displayed to the best advantage on two several days of martial exercise. It is to be remembered, however, that whilst the British had at Ferozepore a force brought together with the utmost diligence and care, to attempt the completion of a great enterprise, the flower of the Maha Rajah's forces were at this time watching his western frontier, or strengthening other important points of his dominions; so that the brigades, which the Sikhs had assembled on the right bank of the Gharra, could hardly be regarded as a sufficient specimen of their military means.

1. Sir Henry Fane commanded in chief in the

presence of the Maha Rajah, and of the Governor-general, the large British force not falling short of ten thousand men of all arms, which had been brought together for the invasion of Affghanistan. The Sikh potentate had to make his way, in order to gain a view of this spectacle, through a dense fog, to the tents, which had been temporarily pitched in the centre of the deployed army. The ground selected was to the northward of the camp of the 2nd division, and the sun has seldom risen in India on a more imposing force than was here drawn up to engage in the game of mimic warfare. A peculiar interest was likewise imparted to the scene, not only by the presence of the powerful ruler, with whose forces, or those of his successors, we might one day be brought into real and serious collision; but by the recollection that the manœuvres of the day were to be directed by a Commander-in-chief in India in person, a sight which no officer on the ground remembered before to have seen, and which had certainly not been exhibited for fifteen years at least. Probably, to a barbarian eye, the force appeared the more striking from the whole being disposed on a single line, with the exception of Brigadier Sale's or the 1st brigade,

which alone formed a reserve in the rear of the centre, flanked by two regiments of Brigadier Skinner's irregular horse.

The line itself was thus arrayed. On the extreme right were the 16th lancers, and on their left half a troop of horse artillery. With these on the sinister flank corresponded the 2nd and 3rd regiments of light cavalry (the two remaining corps of the brigade), and another half troop of horse artillery. Next toward the centre on the right were the 2nd and 3rd brigades of infantry, half of the camel battery being interposed between them, the other half separating in like manner on the left, the 4th and 5th brigades forming the 2nd division of infantry. The remaining troop of horse artillery was drawn up in the centre of the whole line between the divisions of infantry. After the salute, the Maha Rajah bore down on, rather than rode to, the centre, instead of the right of the line, accompanied by the governor-general and commander-in-chief, and fairly carried away by the spring-tide of his own uncontrolled, and uncontrollable *suwarree* of Sikh sirdars, *shootur suwars*, irregular horsemen, and miscellaneous escort on foot. Amidst neighing, snorting, and kicking steeds as plainly habited as on the days of the interviews, or evenings of the festivities,

he made his way at last to the right of the array, and thence proceeded along the front to the left, examining most minutely, and criticising freely every thing which he saw in his course. His was not a mere formal inspection, but the tour of observation of a man of acute perceptions, and inquisitive turn of mind. The novel equipment of the camel battery particularly attracted his attention. On the completion of his survey, by his accorded *ijazut* (leave granted) the manœuvres began, whilst the Maha Rajah placed himself at due distance in front of the centre with the governor-general and suite before a dense line of elephants and carriages, from which British spectators were gazing.

Let allowance be made for professional predilection if I seem to some to waste time in detailing the particulars of the exhibition of these efforts of mimic war, and pass less hastily over them than the narrative of pageants and feasts. The commander-in-chief had supposed a force to stand opposed to the real army, which the latter was to attack and overthrow. First then, in pursuance of this intention, the artillery and cavalry moved out of the general line one hundred paces to the front; and whilst the former slowly firing, concealed by a curtain of

smoke the whole army behind them, two dense masses of infantry were formed to break through the enemy's centre and dis sever his force. These were composed of wings of battalions, which moved into close columns in open columns of sections, the brigades of the 1st division left, those of the second right in front. This ponderous double column was supported by the reserve in contiguous close columns of companies. When three or four wings of battalions of each division were in column, they commenced an advance at wheeling distance, and then regulating their movement by the central troop of horse artillery, which was made the pivot of the whole armament, each column halted, and that of the 1st division formed line to the right, and that of the 2nd to the left. The centre of the enemy's line of position was supposed to have been penetrated and forced by this advance, and the fire was now opened, which was to dissipate its vanquished battalions on either flank. Further to complete their defeat, the right wing of the British was to pursue its advantage, whilst the left was simply held in reserve, forming column and piling its arms.

Acting therefore upon this plan of operation, the 1st division now threw forward its right

one-eighth of a circle (as it is technically called), and again opened a fire to consummate the destruction of its imaginary foes; whilst the reserve having conformed in column to the great movement of infantry in mass, and afterwards deployed and formed line to support the ulterior efforts of its fraternal 2nd and 3rd brigades, now advanced beyond them, and skirmished with the retreating enemy, its right extending towards a high grass jungle, and its left reaching to the village of Hustakee, against which a crowning charge of irregular horse rendered animating by a loud and wild *hurrah* was directed. Under cover of the cloud of skirmishers composed of the whole of the 13th light infantry in extension, which the two native regiments of the brigade supported, battalions, regiments, troops, and batteries now broke into column, and regained their original line, and then in long and splendid array the whole force defiled in open column past the astonished and delighted Maha Rajah. The interview at Roopur, in 1831, had made him acquainted with our tactics, and the bearing and personal appearance of our European soldiery; but the grand scale of the present display, combined with the quality and training of the troops, was well calculated to astonish even

one so well accustomed as the ruler of the Sikhs to see large masses of armed men assembled ; and the admiration, which he profusely expressed, probably was unfeigned, and the lesson read to him of the enduring character of our power as based upon the extent and value of our military means, may not have been without its use in drawing closer round his heart those bonds of self-interest, which kept him our consistent ally as long as life was spared to him.

2. The Potzdam parade of the Maha Rajah, was a different kind of show from that which has just been described, but exceedingly interesting in its way. Runjeet did not command in person, and Sir Henry Fane and his suite (the governor-general was not present) passed on elephants along the Sikh line, which was retired behind the patchwork tents of his troops about two miles from the right bank of the river. He displayed seven battalions of regular infantry, and four regiments of cavalry, with as many troops of horse artillery in the intervals between brigades and half-brigades. His foot were formed three deep, and manœuvred as instructed by their French officers, carrying their arms with a bent elbow, and beating distinctly with the foot the slower time of their shorter-paced quick march, as might have been seen at

a review in the *Champ-de-Mars*, whilst their bands, and drums and fifes assembled in the centre of battalions, guided and gave animation to each change of position. From the commencement of the manœuvres, the *brigade d'élite*, which was distinguished by wearing white trousers, was thrown into second line, and supported every evolution of the first ; and if criticism could point out that the whole force, compared with the European standard, was indifferently equipped, the cavalry poorly mounted, and the artillery ill harnessed, that the battalion squares of brigades were all formed on the same base line, thus risking the pouring a fire into each other, and that the infantry were deficient in the celerity and freedom of pace, which is to be observed in our troops ; on the other hand it could not be denied that here was a considerable force, which proved its practical acquaintance with the general principles of tactical combination, which had moved and formed in various directions readily, steadily, without confusion, and without hesitation ; that the officers of the artillery, cavalry, and infantry, had alike demonstrated their correct conception of the uses of their respective arms, which had manœuvred correlatively for the support of each other ; and that there was on this, as well as on the other bank of the Gharra, not

merely the infancy of military knowledge, but its vigorous manhood.

OBSERVATION.

The evening festivities of both camps at Ferozepore had proved how difficult it is to effect any thing like a happy amalgamation between European and Asiatic manners. It was the policy of the hour to humour and caress the old ruler of the Punjaub, who with all his faults was now to be regarded as a valuable ally; and, since he had come from his capital down to the Gharra to meet us, might in some sort be reckoned, either on one bank or the other, as a visiter. But it was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus urging others to take part in his orgies, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when their notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtesans.

CHAPTER III.

Army advances from Ferozepore—Shah Shoojah's contingent reviewed at Mendote—Moves in the van—Diplomatic agents with the army—Negotiation of Sir Alexander Burnes—March to Bhawulpore—Health of the force, and abundant supplies—Bawul Khan's conference with Sir Henry Fane—Affairs of Lower Sindh—Negotiations with Meer Roostam—The Sindians led out to a cavalry review by Sir Henry Fane—The fortress of Bukkur peaceably surrendered—Observations.

MORE serious avocations than fields, and camps of exercise, now demanded the exertions of the army of the Indus, and the allies of its government. The governor-general took his departure for Lahore preceded by Runjeet, who was there to play in his usual style of splendour the part of his lordship's host. The commander-in-chief caused it to be notified to the force that he had ceased to be its leader, that one of the divisions of infantry would halt and observe

the Sutlege, and that the amount of the ordnance with the armament would be diminished ; the siege train and park, the camel battery, and one troop of horse artillery moving forward towards Affghanistan under an officer of inferior rank, instead of the gallant and experienced Brigadier Graham, who was to remain with the residue of the army near Ferozepore. Subsequently the brigade of irregular horse was broken up, the present services in the field of Brigadier Skinner dispensed with, and the 4th local horse, and a detachment only of the 1st sent onwards to perform the important and harassing duties which are required from that branch of the service. It was likewise arranged that Sir Willoughby Cotton should conduct the whole of the Bengal contingent to the point of junction with that from Bombay, where the command-in-chief of both would devolve upon Sir John Keane, General Nott taking temporary charge of the 1st division, and Colonel Dennie, of her majesty's 13th light infantry, with the rank of brigadier, assuming for a like period that of the 2nd brigade. Sir Henry Fane now too as commander-in-chief in India, but no longer of the army which had been brought together under his able and zealous superintendence, prepared to embark with his suite in

boats on the Indus, thence to proceed on a line parallel with that of the force to Bukkur, and onwards to Bombay, should the lower portion of the mighty stream be found free from hostile obstruction, and eventually to his native land.

The five regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry, which formed the levy of Shah Shooja, and to which a native troop of the Bengal horse artillery, under Captain Timings, had been attached, until the organization of his own force of the same kind should be complete, had meanwhile marched from Loodiana, and passing through Ferozepore without halting, had been reviewed at Mendote, two short marches in advance, by the British envoy and minister. This little army forming, in accordance with the declaration, the vanguard of the invading armament, escorted onwards its master towards the land which it hoped soon to see once more subjected to his rule. It was already some marches on the route to Bhawulpore, under the command of Major-general Simpson, and accompanied by Major Todd, before the British broke up from their encampment near the Gharra. The means of keeping up a becoming degree of state had been supplied to Shah Shooja by the government of India, in the shape of a monthly stipend of twenty-five

thousand rupees, which was to be increased to fifty thousand as soon as he crossed the Indus. This was a splendid augmentation present and prospective of the allowance of four thousand rupees paid from the same treasury, on which he had supported himself, and his progeny of fourteen sons and nineteen daughters, and their mothers, one of them a sister of the Ameer of Cabul, when in the days of his hopeless adversity, he had resided near his blinded and deposed brother at Loodiana.

No concealment was any longer affected, as there had long been no real secrecy regarding the direction of the march of purposed restoration. Sir Henry Fane, previously to quitting Ferozepore, issued the orders which formed the basis of the instructions for the advance in support of the exiled monarch. The sappers and miners, and engineer department, were to precede the leading column by never fewer than two marches, improving the line of road as they moved on. Then was to follow the brigade of cavalry; and one after the other, on successive days, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th brigades of infantry (the last mentioned had now found a place in the 1st division instead of the 3rd), and the siege-train and park. A Rissalah of irregular horse was attached to each of these

columns, excepting that of Brigadier Arnold's cavalry, with which Sir Willoughby Cotton's head-quarters moved. The only remaining troop of horse-artillery was conjoined to the same brigade, the camel battery having been attached to Brigadier Sale's, or the 1st of infantry. Major Pew, now commandant of the arm, accompanied the siege-train and park.

On the 10th of December the leading column debouched as far as the town and castle of Mendote, in the direct route to the Bhawulpore territories. Through these the Bengal force was to make its way, hoping to find in the Nuwab Bhawul Khan a warm friend and faithful ally. Thus skirting the left bank of the Gharra, and keeping up a communication with the river, it was to enter the Sindian dominions of the Khyrpore Ameer, by passing his northern frontier near Subzulkote, and march towards the fort of Bukkur. In aid of its operations it was to depend on the intervention first of Mr. Greathead, assistant to the political agent in the Sikh-protected states; next, on those of Doctor Gordon, employed on a mission in Mooltan; then on the efforts of Lieutenant Mackeson, the British agent for the extension of commerce on the Indus, who, with a view to our relations with Affghanistan, having tem-

porarily left Mithenkot, the seat of his fiscal intendancy, had for some time been residing at the court of Bhawul Khan and in its vicinity; and lastly, on the diplomatic exertions of Sir Alexander Burnes, who had preceded the army from Simla, charged with the important task of obtaining possession, by negotiation, from the Khyrpore Ameer of Bukkur,—in other words, of the command of the middle Indus, a fortress in the centre of Upper Sinde, and an impregnable place of arms preparatory to an advance on Shikarpore. Whilst Shah Shooja, therefore, was bending his steps towards the latter city, the Bengal army was in fact steadily manœuvring on Bukkur, the true point of junction between it and the contingent from Bombay. Sir Henry Fane having bid farewell to the forces of the Bengal and Agra presidencies in a general order, embarked on the 17th of December on board of one of the boats prepared for him and a limited portion of his suite. He had, indeed, ceased to command the army of the Indus; but, as commander-in-chief in India, might be supposed to take a lively interest in its fate, and be expected to seize every opportunity of ascertaining its progress and welfare by actual inspection.

It will be seen that on Colonel Sir Alexander

Burnes, less honoured even by his newly-acquired and well-earned titles than by those of topographer of the Indus and explorer of Central Asia, a trust of the most delicate and important nature had devolved. He was to strive to detach from the national and domestic league which the Ameers of Sind were ascertained to have formed against us, that Meer Roostum, into whose territories we were meditating an irruption, and to obtain from him by force of persuasion no less a cession than that of the Gibraltar of the Indus, the key of his own dominions, and a supporting point for our columns, when they might prepare to penetrate to the foot of the Brahoick range of mountains. The difficulty of this attempt can only be appreciated, when, in addition to the jealous hatred of foreign interference, which is a trait of family character of the Talpoor dynasty, proper regard be had to the nature of our former negotiations with them, and when it is recorded, not without a sentiment of national shame and humiliation, that our dealings with them had been on one point scarcely correct or equitable.

When, in April, 1832, a treaty had been signed, which was to give us the right of navigating the Indus on more favourable terms

than we had for years ventured to expect, a special reservation had been made in Conditions 1 and 2 of Article III., against the introduction in any vessel of troops or munitions of war in any shape. But when the aspect of affairs in the direction of Affghanistan had rendered a change in these provisions desirable, the British government at a period antecedent to the detection of the indiscreet and hostile correspondence of the Ameers with Persia, had caused it to be notified to them with the cool and domineering air of effrontery which the strong venture to assume in their intercourse with the weak, that they must be prepared to reckon upon this portion of the compact being considered null and void, and in its very nature inadmissible. “*Malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas des traités,*” said Napoleon, when Malta was withheld from his grasp in 1803, an exclamation which might justly have been echoed by the Ameers of Hydrabad, of Meerpore, and Khyrpore, upon this expression of calm contempt, on the part of the British, of subsisting engagements being communicated to them in 1838. To ask for Bukkur after this announcement of our views and intentions, and to persist in the request after the negotiations of Colonel Pottinger had already made the Talpoor

princes aware of our intention of forcing upon them stipulations yet more galling to their feelings, was to tell them that their days of independence were numbered, and that Sindé was shortly either to be reduced to the condition of a British province, or, in spite of every disclaimer, to become an actual as well as nominal dependency of the kingdom of Cabul, as might best suit the views of the power in whose hands it seemed that Providence had placed the destinies of India. The only argument which could be relied on to produce compliance with such a demand, was the simultaneous advance of two armies towards the northern and southern limits of Sindé.

Imperfectly informed of these combinations, the Bengal force, leaving one division in observation on the Gharra, moved on towards the capital of the Daoodpootra state. The weather was very cold, but the air clear and healthful, the roads good, the country open, the river contiguous, and at every stage abundant supplies of wheat, grain, grass, and firewood were found in depot ready for consumption. These were the halcyon days of the movements of this force. As it proceeded slowly towards the capital city of the Nawab Bhawul Khan, it knew but one sorrow or care, viz., the vexatious

desertion of its followers, who carried off with them the hired camels, and left their masters comfortless, and without means of transport. The spasm of alarm had quickly seized the hearts of the timid tribe of Hindoostanee servants, when they found that they were leaving their own provinces behind, and entering on untried regions, and might soon expect to have a river on their right, a desert on the left, before them a hostile nation, and around them strangers whom they know not how to trust. The Sikh *surwans*, who were forward in the supervening desertion, absconded on a different principle. They considered themselves the victims of feudal tyranny. They argued that the British had influenced their rulers cruelly and unjustly, to compel them to leave their homes, and engage in a distasteful service, and that as they owed these self-constituted masters of their rightful lords no allegiance, they felt themselves at liberty to leave them, whenever opportunities might offer. They were insolent and untutored fellows, only a loss under circumstances in which no other camels and no better followers could be procured. But all felt that in such countries as those in which we were about to penetrate, no description of men or animals could well be spared. Morning

after morning fresh desertions were reported, and scarcely had the army completed six marches, when the loss of private baggage, and the unavoidable abandonment of the bedding and camp equipage of the soldiers had amounted to a serious evil. The most vigilant patrolling of parties of irregular horse did not materially check this defection. The increasing propinquity of the desert rendered evasion hourly easier.

Of one other grievance this otherwise happy force even at this period complained, viz., of the injurious effect produced on the health and strength of their baggage animals by their unavoidably feeding on the *jhaoo*,* or tamarisk bush, low forests of which overspread the portions of the territories of Bhawul Khan which we traversed. The *juwasa*,† which, from April to September, is excellent food for camels, was here indeed abundant; but it is in December dry and unpalatable, and utterly void of nutriment. It soon appeared that government had

* *Hedysarum albajee*, called by the Persians خارشتر *Khari shootur* or camel thorn.

† *Tamaric indica*, in Persian شوره گز *Shoru guz*, salt marsh tamarisk. This kind of jungle is scarcely less common on the banks of the Ganges than those of the Indus; but in Hindoostan it does not extend so far inland.

rightly appreciated the present disposition of Bhawul Khan. In every transaction he fulfilled the duties of a sincere and constant ally. Not only did the force day after day move on without molestation, but the supplies collected long before were found in the towns and villages piled up for use as the agents of the commissariat had left them. A full share of these valuable articles and occasionally a little more had indeed been consumed by the troops of Shah Shooja, who had preceded us, and some symptoms of agitation and distrust in the minds of the peasantry might be traced to the defects in the discipline of these newly-raised corps ; but, on the whole, our progress was through the midst of a people eminently pacific, our wants were admirably supplied, the health of the troops was excellent, and their prospects were cheering. The face of the country, indeed, presented no attractions. Marching day after day a full hour and a half before the dawn, we traversed for a few hours, first by torch and star light, and then under the powerless sun of December, sandy roads, the line of which was distant from four to ten miles from the great river, and commonly parallel to it, and finally encamped on plains overspread with the *jhaoo*, or tamarisk, the *jin*, a thorny bush, of which I

have not ascertained the botanical name, the wild caper, and the dried plant *juwasa*. From the outset our communications with our own provinces were uncertain, and our stock of actual intelligence being thus restricted, we had few topics of discussion left, but conjectures as to our future progress and success, and lamentations over the want of principle in our *surwans* and other followers. We had up to this time no intelligence of any thing in our front excepting the column of General Simpson, which continued five or six marches in advance of us.

I may mention that at Ferozepore my functions as postmaster of a division had, as well as those of three other officers, whose appointments were of a like temporary nature, merged in the general duties of a superintendent of the communications of the whole Bengal force. This was the simple fact, but some of the Indian journals, adverting to the circumstance of the appointment of Major Sage to the office of postmaster to our contingent, chose to assert, although the general orders contradicted them, that I had been removed from that situation, and congratulated the army on the substitution of an officer of acknowledged talents and assiduity. In praise of the ability and diligence actually evinced by my friend, whose name was

thus placed in unfair juxtaposition with my own, no one can join more sincerely and cordially than myself. But the truth is, as I have intimated, that the comparison might have been spared, since the only office in the department which I ever held was that of postmaster to a division alone on the march from the Jumna to the Sutlege. In the discharge of the duties of that shortlived employment, it is sufficient for me to have been honoured with the approbation of the general, on whose recommendation I received the appointment; but I take occasion, whilst rectifying an error which concerned me personally, to notice the delay and uncertainty of the dawk communications of our army from the period of its breaking up from Ferozepore to that of its reaching Cabul. This unceasing cause of complaint and chagrin is remembered by all. The obstruction was injurious to the interests of government, and harassing to the feelings of individuals. To our postmaster it was in no way to be attributed, since the minor arrangements of his *bureau* were alone in his hands, and these were excellent. The care of establishing the post and means of communication rested upon the several officers politically employed. They also displayed much intelligence; but all the

efforts of their skill and industry appear to have been baffled by the carelessness of inferior agents, and the predatory character of the people of the provinces, through which our vastly extended line of communication ran.

For my own part, though confined at this time to the duties of my situation on the personal staff of the commander of so large a force, I had little cause to repine at want of occupation ; whilst, having access to sources of information not generally open, I had the advantage and satisfaction of viewing the scene which was gradually discovered before us, with the interest of one to whom it was permitted to understand the causes and objects of events and enterprises. By means of the *shootur suwars* attached to our column, our interchange of communication with the camp of the governor-general in the Punjab, with the commander-in-chief on the great river, and with General Simpson's force, was, during the whole of our march to the Indus at Bukkur, constant and rapid, and the importance of the matters under discussion, or in course of arrangement, was sufficient to awaken attention, dissipate listlessness, and prevent that stagnation of ideas which is commonly consequent on the monotony of route marching in India. Yet it

must be confessed that our advance to Bhawulpore was varied by few incidents. Throughout, the weather was cold and fine, the troops were healthy, and, if occasionally there might be some slight deficiency in the quantity, or deterioration in the quality of any one supply, it was only of such a nature as might be hailed as affording a topic of conversation, where the dearth of intelligence was already so great. I have noted, for instance, that about this time we were often compelled to feed our horses upon *jooara* (*holcus sorgum*), an inferior grain, instead of the gram, *chuna* (*cicer arictinum*), which is the ordinary and more nutritious ration of chargers in Hindoostan; but, though the meritorious vigilance which was observed in guarding our camps throughout the service, rendered the outpost duty even now severe, neither officer nor private soldier endured anything at this time which effeminacy or disaffection could have ventured to characterize as a hardship or privation, and subsequent events have since taught, as I have already intimated, our youngest and most inexperienced warriors to look back upon these as the prosperous and easy days of the force.

Once only Sir Henry Fane was enabled to land from his boats and make an inspection of

our columns and camps ; but he was kept constantly informed of every thing which regarded our progress and welfare. The country was, in the strongest sense of the word, uninteresting. We moved on with few halts, day after day experiencing an intense degree of cold, until the sun had risen some hours above the horizon ; but, whilst we continued to track our way through the territories of our well-disposed ally, the Gharra on our right, and the great western desert on our left, there was nothing to distinguish one day from another in the mind of each individual, but the evasion and disappearance of his own or his comrade's *surwans* and camels, and the efforts necessary to replace them. As we approached Bhawulpore, we exchanged the tamarisk jungles for the hillocks of sand, and clumps of date-trees, which peculiarly belong to the vast tract of sterility, which may be regarded as a second line of defence to Western India, the Indus being the first. By its flats we were beginning to be more closely shut in, when we at length received despatches from Sir Alexander Burnes. These gave us cause to apprehend that deficiency of boats, timber, and other materials would render it impossible, or most difficult, to establish a bridge across the Indus. He likewise

signified that his negotiations with Meer Roostum had reached a point at which he was compelled to entertain serious doubts of being enabled to obtain, by fair means, the cession of Fort Bukkur; "in which case," added our ever undaunted negotiator, with soldierlike coolness and Spartan brevity, "you must attack and take it, that is all." Well knowing its occupation to be indispensable, with a view to the safety of our ulterior operations, we moved on, our spirits mounting higher in the thought that this dry announcement of an undeniable alternative would turn out to be prophetic.

As this is professedly a personal narrative, I feel at liberty to record, that towards the latter end of December, as the army was approaching Bhawulpore, I experienced two slight paroxysms of intermittent fever, the only attack of the kind from which I had ever suffered in India. There was nothing in surrounding localities to cause such an affection, and I therefore attributed it partly to rather prolonged exposure on one occasion to the rays of the sun; and partly to having, at the suggestion of friends, modified, since the army had taken the field, the habits, which they deemed too austere for the fatigues of active service, and consented to drink a few glasses of wine daily, instead of restricting my-

self as I had done for many months to pure water. The fever was speedily checked; and on the disappearance of its symptoms under skilful treatment, I resolved henceforth to legislate for myself in dietetics, and resuming my former system, abjured entirely the use of wine, as well as of all stronger potations. A single example does not prove a rule; but my own experience as well as that of not a few others in the Bengal contingent certainly goes to establish the fact, that water-drinking is the best regimen for a soldier. I was after this period no stranger to personal fatigue, and rode not seldom long distances in a heated atmosphere, and was exposed like others between Bhawulpore and Peshawur to extreme vicissitudes of weather; but from the time that the pure element became once more my only drink, I enjoyed a total exemption from the evils of any serious ailment.

Sir Henry Fane and his suite reached Bhawulpore the capital of the Daoopootra states, in their boats, on the 27th December, and the army arrived on the same day. The English usually honour Bawul Khan the ruler of this territory with the title of Nuwab, though that of Khan is considered by those well versed in Asiatic etiquette and politics to be his more

correct designation. As we approached his principal city, he sent out his eldest son to meet Sir Willoughby Cotton, and welcome him into his dominions. The Khanzada, who was rather a comely youth, rode in a rude chariot protected from the sun by a canopy of cloth, and was surrounded by a party of perhaps one hundred and fifty horsemen of rather sorry appearance. The general's escort came up with his *suwarree* about three miles from Bhawulpore, under the first rain which had fallen since we left Ferozepore. The boy presented, with many expressions of respect and consideration, a *nuzzur* of four hundred and ninety-nine rupees. Odd numbers are esteemed auspicious by Mahomedans. When the ceremonial of this interview was concluded, our camp was formed under the mud walls of the city. A single glance assured us that our soldiers could easily have prostrated these bulwarks with the butts of their muskets. The next day was fixed for the reception of the Khan in grand durbar by Sir Henry Fane.

Disgusted with the character of most of the petty rulers of India, the mind rests with something like complacency on that of the Nuwab Bhawul Khan. He was in former days a mighty hunter; but now, if his pursuits are not highly intellectual, they are at least pacific, harmless,

and rational. Mechanics are his chief delight, and watchmaking is the particular branch of useful industry which he most liberally patronizes. A very favourable report is made of the skill of the artist who at present stands highest in the favour of the khan. On the morning of the 30th December the Daoopootra ruler repaired to the durbar tent of the commander-in-chief, followed by a modest but respectable *suwarree*. His complexion is remarkably dark, but his lineaments and countenance are expressive of good sense and moderate sentiments, and his followers seemed to have adopted from him a decent sobriety of manner. Sir Henry Fane advanced to the margin of the carpet to meet him, embraced, and seated him on his right hand. The Persian interpreter saluted him with the usual phrase, "Khoosh amudeed;" "You are welcome;" and then by means of the further expounding of Lieutenant Mackeson, the conference proceeded in Hindoostanee. Sir Henry praised the khan's fidelity to the British government, his honourable fulfilment of all his engagements, and his hospitable reception of the army in his dominions, and assured him of the favour and protection of our nation, so long as such principles guided his counsels, bespeaking his further

good offices in behalf of the columns still advancing. The replies of the khan were at once guarded and courteous, and delivered with the air of a man desirous of simultaneously impressing us with a sense of his power to do us evil, and his intention to treat us well. He good-humouredly underrated his past assistance, and made only very general promises for the future ; but his bearing throughout the interview was friendly, and expressed more strongly than his words his amicable disposition. The presents consisting of articles of British manufacture were next laid before him. With these he appeared generally gratified, but was evidently most delighted with a brace of pistols with spring bayonets, one of which he took up, and after minutely examining its workmanship with the eye of an amateur, placed it with an air of much satisfaction in his girdle.

The return visit was paid the next day at the khan's mansion in the city. It was with no small difficulty that the staff and escort made their way through the narrow and filthy streets of the Daoodpootra capital up to a low dwelling in a confined courtyard, where those who, like myself, had been delayed a little in pressing through the throng at the gate, found Sir Henry Fane and his officers already seated with the

Nuwab, his ministers, and sirdars, on a kind of canopied platform. The Daoodpootra was exhibited to more advantage under his own roof than in our camp. Indeed it is to be generally remarked that Asiatic rulers wear an air of painful restraint, not unmixed with apprehension, when they appear as the visitors of European persons of distinction. Bhawul Khan in the centre of his own city seemed to be less cramped by forms of etiquette, than he had been in the Durbar beyond its walls ; his manner became kinder, and he was social, and even inclined to be garrulous. The conference did not much differ, however, in substance from that of the preceding day, excepting that the colloquy digressed for a short time to the sports of the field, when the Khan pointed out two of his warriors, who had often encountered and killed tigers in single combat with no other weapon than the sword. He added, however, that he had of late years entirely interdicted such hazardous conflicts, as he did not wish, for the sake of a vainglorious boast, to endanger the lives of his subjects. On the trays of presents, a graduated proportion of which were appropriated to Sir Willoughby Cotton, and of course a larger to Sir Henry Fane, were some good specimens of the cloths called "loongee" and

“khes,” productions of Mooltan and the Bhawalpore states. A strong and active but not very shapely horse was given to each of the generals, and to the junior a handsome hawk. Some regiments of the Daoodpootra infantry, sipahees not much inferior in appearance to the Seikh troops of the same arm, were drawn up in the courtyard and adjacent streets, and their noisy drums deafened us with their dissonant uproar as we left the palace, and riding forth once more among the date-trees of the suburbs, returned to our camp to be present at the investiture of several native officers of our army with the insignia of the new order of British India.

The force was put in motion, in the same order as before, on the morning of the 1st January, 1839. During the preceding night a despatch from Sir Alexander Burnes to Sir Willoughby Cotton had informed him of the important fact of the Ameer of Khyrpoor, after protracted dallying, having attached his seal to a treaty by which the fortress of Bukkur was given up to the British to be held as long as the character of our external relations to the westward should render such a measure necessary for the general security. We communicated, as we marched on, this intelligence to Sir

Henry Fane, who had returned on board of his budgerow. We felt now that the passage of the Indus was secured to us, and that one great object of our armed interposition had been effected without a blow. We hastened on to take advantage of this favourable crisis. No extraordinary incident marked our more rapid advance through the cities of Ahmedpore and Khanpore; the former only remarkable for a few handsome mosques with lofty white minarets, and the latter for a picturesque gateway. Around these principal towns, as in the vicinity of the capital, the jungle had been more diligently cleared away, and cultivation carried to a higher point than in other parts of the Khan's territory. Supplies continued plentiful, and the disposition and conduct of the authorities of the country most friendly. Moosa Khan, the governor of Khanpore, accompanied our route many marches, gave us valuable aid in procuring grain, and means of transport, and left us at length the happiest of provincial khans, when complimented with a *loongee*, a brace of pistols, and a *nuzzur* of ninety-nine rupees. At the town, over which he exercised authority, we had obtained on the requisition of Lieutenant Mackeson a considerable reinforcement of camels at moderate prices, which, combined

with those procured at Bhawulpoor through the same intervention, put once more upon a tolerably respectable footing the diminished carriage of the army. Mithenkot, the Allahabad of the Indus, had been well chosen as the place, in which the British agent for the extension of commerce on the great stream, should ordinarily discharge his functions ; but as it is extremely unhealthy at the season of the inundations, Lieutenant Mackeson had built himself a respectable dwelling in the neighbourhood of Ahmedpoor, where he used to reside when driven from the river-bank by the *malaria*. A good canal has been cut in the vicinity of Khanpoor, by which commodities are transported to and from the great river below the point where the Gharra has yielded up its waters.

It was not without some feeling of regret, that between Surwae and Sukzulkote we crossed the boundary line of our good friend Bhawul Khan, and entered the territories of the Khyrpore Ameer. Here we were met by Sir Alexander Burnes who, concealing nothing, warned us to expect from the crafty Sindians empty promises only instead of the cordial assistance, for which we had hitherto felt grateful. We pressed on as rapidly as the condition

of our camels, growing weaker daily from the pernicious influence of their tamarisk diet, would permit. We were anxious to secure as soon as possible both banks of the great river, and take possession of the fortress, which would give us the command of them, and in addition to these objects a new enterprise began here to demand the exertion of our energies.

Sir John Keane had reached the mouth of the Hujamree branch of the Indus in the last week of December. He landed at Vikkur, and marched, after an unwilling pause, to Tatta, whence under date the 28th, a despatch, the first direct communication between the two contingents, was, after a perplexing silence, received from him. It disclosed to us his real situation in lower Sindh. All the disadvantages of a maritime expedition into an unfriendly land, this portion of our army had been destined acutely to feel. It had come unprovided with camels or means of transport of any kind excepting boats, and the Sindians had evidently resolved from the first that no carriage animals should be procured through their instrumentality. Thus a fine force of all arms, in the most superb order, was kept in a state of inactivity. These crafty barbarians promised indeed

to comply with all requisitions, but the threats of the military commander, and the representations of Colonel Pottinger, the able and experienced negotiator, were alike ineffectual to obtain the fulfilment of any of their engagements. A system of studied opposition was begun and persevered in, and the Ameers secretly smiled at the success of their policy, when day after day passed away, and the British head-quarters yet remained at Tatta. There indeed they might have been fixed to this day had not a most opportune and welcome supply of camels been received from the Rao of Cutch, a sensible and sincere ally, who, like the Nuwab of Bhawulpore, chose at this conjuncture the wiser and better part, of firmly adhering to the predominating power in India. The Ameers of Hydrabad had in the mean time assembled for the defence of their capital a force amounting to not fewer than 25,000 men, chiefly mercenary Belooches, and the ruler of Meerpore, had been called upon to furnish his contingent for the national defence. Now, therefore, before the Bengal army could think of prosecuting its advance towards the frontier of Affghanistan, it became necessary to secure its communications with the forces of the other Presidency, and to act in concert with them for the subjugation of

the Delta of the Indus. We learnt at the same time from Sir Alexander Burnes that the Khan of Kelat had become insolent and menacing ; a fact afterwards explained by the discovery of an offer made to him by the chiefs of Candahar of a portion of the bribe given to them by Russia ; and his knowledge of the success of the policy of his secret allies, the Ameers of Hydrabad. The influence of Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat, too, had now been endangered by some premature, though humane, acts of interference with the authorities of the place ; and a storm of resistance seemed to be brewing which it would require no small exertion of skill and energy to weather. Nothing discouraged by these events, the Bengal force moved on towards Roree, the Sindian town on the left bank of the Indus opposite Bukkur, and reaching Maloodie on the 21st of January, had there the satisfaction of being informed that Shah Shooja with his whole force had boldly and safely completed in six days and a half the passage of the Indus at Goth Amil, and having established himself on its right bank, proposed to move, on the morning on which the communication was received, to within one march of Shikarpore. Great credit was evidently due to the staff offi-

cers of his contingent and to his force itself for the style in which so difficult an operation had been completed with the aid of only six-and-thirty boats.

Sir Henry Fane, meanwhile, moving with his little flotilla parallel to the column of Sir Willoughby Cotton, had reached the point where the spirited passage recorded above had been successfully attempted by the Shah ; and the weight of his counsel was added to those reflections, which pointed to the necessity of an immediate interference in the affairs of Sind. Sir Willoughby Cotton passed down in his excellency's boat from Goth Amil to Roree, which he reached almost at the same moment with the head of his own leading column.

Here a spectacle awaited the troops, which the young and enthusiastic might deem fully to repay them for all the fatigues of their precedent marches. A noble river of little less than one thousand yards in breadth is the Indus at Goth Amil ; but here, where its stream is impeded by the rocky island of Bukkur, it expands into a wide bay to embrace and pass the obstacle, the resistance of which to its waters *seems* only to add fury to their natural impetuosity. On either bank are here seen two large groves of date-trees clothing for a certain

distance the hills of limestone rock, which stretch out like two huge arms, the one towards Cutch Gundava, the other into the territories of Meer Roostum. These wood-crowned heights, though not lofty, present a striking contrast to the level plain around them, green only with corn and tamarisk-bushes. The town of Roree is wholly built of sunburnt bricks; but raised on limestone crags in the bend of the little gulf, it lays claim to a wild kind of beauty; whilst on the same bank a magnificent pile of rocks of the same formation, surmounted by the painted and glittering spires of a Zyarut gab, and insulated, when the river is swollen, arrests the admiration of the spectator. Thence his gaze is at length withdrawn to the fort of Bukkur, and the view into the expanded reach of the Indus below it. The sandy islet on which the stronghold is built, would be washed over by the river, but that from this low basis, suddenly arises a singular superstructure of hard limestone, in which little masses of agate flint are thickly and deeply bedded. The isle is in length eight hundred yards, and in breadth varies from one hundred and fifty to one hundred. The whole area is covered by the *enceinte* and buildings of the fortress, which reach down to the water's edge. This intervening land di-

vides the river into two channels, the northern of which does not exceed ninety yards, whilst the southern branch spreads with a whirling course towards the town of Roree to the width of four hundred and fifty. The smaller arm had already been securely bridged by nineteen boats lashed together, and the engineers were labouring incessantly in connecting seventy-five more to restrain and subdue the waters of the main stream. Bukkur consists of a brick wall of about thirty feet in height battlemented, and divided into curtains, and semicircular towers and bastions. A lower wall, *rownee* or *fausse braye*, prevents a considerable part of the base of this circumference from being seen; but the brick structure is every where mouldering into decay, and was at this time armed with only three guns, which were mounted *en barbette*. The balconied residence of the Killadar was seen over the principal gate, and high Sindian caps appearing above the parapet, assured us that Bukkur was still held in the name of the Ameer. We knew, however, that his garrison was not very formidable, as it had, three days before, been increased from twelve men to two hundred only. The landscape on the Indus, as viewed from our camp, was completed on the right by the heights of Sukkur, a ruinous, but once ex-

tensive town on the right bank, in which tottering mosque, minaret, and Eedgah, yet glittering with purple and gilding, tell of the faded magnificence of Mahomedan rule.

But between the main island and the Roree bank have been thrown up by the stream two other islets. One of these, which is at the eastern extremity of Fort Bukkur, and bears the name of Khaja Khizzur, is covered with tombs. A relic is enshrined within the largest of them, which, if genuine, ought surely to be venerable in the eyes of the people of Islam, being no other than the beard which fringed the sacred chin of Mahomed himself. Sir Willoughby Cotton afterwards presented a handsome *nuzzur* to the Mootuwullee, or superintendent of this monument, in which act of munificence Sir Henry Fane had set him the example.

On our arrival at Roree we found Sir Alexander Burnes still busily employed in negotiating with Meer Roostum's ministers, who were encamped about three miles off their master. He was surrounded by a considerable force, and accompanied by his brother Ameers. Our envoy had left Sir Willoughby Cotton's camp in the middle of January, and preceded it to Bukkur, in order to quiet the apprehensions

which the Khyrpore Ameer professed to feel on the subject of our establishing a bridge over the Indus. This fortress he had temporarily given up to us by treaty, but as this convention had not yet been ratified by the governor-general, he wished that we should defer acting upon it in any way until it should return with his lordship's signature attached to it. As it was important, however, that no delay should take place in establishing the bridge, and at the same time desirable to avoid any ebullition of barbarian impatience at Roree, Sir Alexander deemed it to be best to administer the sedative of his personal assurances until the despatches might arrive from Lord Auckland at Lahore. We found that he had been successful in keeping things quiet till the army came up.

Sir Willoughby Cotton's camp was pitched on a *plateau* of sand, near the margin of the river, directly opposite to Khaju Khizzur. Here his flag was displayed, and immediately below waved on the waters of the Indus that of Sir Henry Fane, whose flotilla of eight large boats, led by his own handsome budgerow, the Avenel, was moored to the bank. It was from the mound above that the most pleasing view could be obtained of Bukkur, Roree, and Suk-

kur, the Indus, and the adjacent groves; and hardly in the world could a spectacle more magnificent be found than the Zyarut gah, and the fort and islands, and the watery vista beyond, when the sun sunk into the waves of the extensive reach of the great river. On the day after our arrival, Sir Henry gave audience in Sir Willoughby Cotton's tent, his own not having yet been landed, to two relatives of the ruling Ameer and his prime minister. Arrangements were made at this conference for the more important visit which Meer Roostum himself had been persuaded to consent to pay to his Excellency. Hopes were held out to the Sindians that intelligence would arrive from Lord Auckland's camp before this conference could take place, and that the tenour of the next news would be the complete re-establishment of the best understanding between the British and this branch of the Talpoor family. Sir A. Burnes acted as interpreter, and conducted the negotiation and ceremonial, and displayed admirable tact in the happy manner and choice of phrases, by which he contrived to inspire with confidence in his own government, and to set at their ease in the presence of foreigners and superiors at this interview, individuals at once

so timid and suspicious, haughty and repulsive as these connexions and servants of the ruler of Khyrpore.

Unfeigned anxiety was felt in both camps respecting the arrival of the ratified convention. The Sindians wished to be assured that the army, which was now so near to one of their capitals, was really bound by a solemn engagement to pass through their country in peaceful guise; the British, impatient to press on towards Hydrabad, felt the necessity of first securing the fortress, which might justly be reckoned the key of Upper Sinde, and under the walls of which, as soon as these were in their possession, they could tranquilly mature every plan for the invasion of Affghanistan. As the line of communication was long from Roree to the governor-general's camp, and an accident might have happened even to an express, it was a relief to many minds, when late on the night of Saturday, the 26th January, a despatch arrived containing the expected document with his lordship's signature affixed to it. Sir Henry Fane at once determined to produce it the next morning in full durbar, at the purposed reception of Meer Roostum. His Excellency's large tents had been pitched on a convenient spot on

the sand, not far from the head-quarters of the force.

Accordingly at an early hour on the 27th every preparation had been made for the visit of the Ameer. A guard of honour of the 2nd light cavalry and of the 13th light infantry was drawn up in two lines in front of the state pavilion, and every eye was bent towards the outlets from the Sindian camp near the town of Roree. It was known that Sir Alexander Burnes had before daybreak quitted his own tents at the bend of the river close to the city, for the purpose of repairing to the temporary abode of the ruler; and as none were ignorant of the extent to which suspicion had taken hold of the mind of Meer Roostum and his state advisers, it seemed yet problematical whether or not they would keep their appointment. Time was wearing away, and though it was ascertained that the Sindian chiefs, and their attendants had long since left their tents, yet neither they nor their *cortége* were seen to issue from the date groves into the sandy plains below. All ranks had long since in some measure partaken of a feeling of impatience, when at length, the *suwarree* was descried at a distance, and in the midst of three hundred horse-

men and retainers, mounted on the well shaped but diminutive steeds of Sinde gaily equipped, the spectators beheld a stout and gray-headed personage riding by the side of Sir Alexander Burnes, who, habited in the uniform of a British colonel was conversing with his companion, evidently with the gestures and emphasis of eager persuasion. Three or four times the cavalcade stopped between the clustering date-trees and the British tents, causing at each halt a fresh paroxysm of petulance in the spectators and British leaders. At length the horsemen reached the head of the street, and no sooner were the principal personages, and their recognised suite fairly within the living defile, than the light cavalry wheeled up right and left at the gallop, and enclosed between the lines of infantry, before the great tent, the whole *suwarree*, thus excluding the rabble which followed at its heels. The vivacity of this movement certainly did not tend to quiet the apprehensions of the Sindians; but their fears had not schooled them into politeness: for hereupon supervened a scene of tumult and uproar in the midst of the suite, as the parties composing it dismounted and pressed on to the place of audience, even less courteously and dignified than the approach of the followers of the "Lion

of the Punjaub," on a similar occasion at Ferrozepore.

Sir Henry Fane, according to established etiquette, advanced to the edge of the carpet to receive Meer Roostum, whom he conducted to a seat at the upper end of the tent, whilst Sir Alexander Burnes welcomed him in Persian. The lingual confusion of Babel was surpassed in the scene which ensued, as each Ameer, relative, minister, and retainer loudly asserted in tones, compared with which the chattering of jays and magpies, would have been harmonious and decorous, his right to sit in the high presence; the aspirants rudely and ferociously snatching up the chairs as they asseverated their claim. It was long before the combined efforts of Sir Alexander Burnes, and Captain Hay, the Persian interpreter, succeeded in stilling this storm of jealous contention. But when the Ameers and Wuzeers of Khyrpore had, on the partial failure of their own powers of vociferation rather than from any sense of decency, been brought to an anchor in something like a courtly line before Sir Henry Fane, and their national and domestic head; when order was in a measure restored amongst the subordinates and silence, often demanded, had for a few brief minutes been preserved, his Excellency a little

abruptly began the conference, by producing, after a short complimentary prelude, the signed and ratified instrument, which placed Fort Bukkur under British guardianship, and secured present safety and protection to the territories of Meer Roostum. The Khyrpore ruler replied by a general expression of pacific and kindly views, and reminded his Excellency of the ancient alliance of his Raj with the English, and its consistent adherence to the principles of their policy. He regretted at the same time that his brethren of Meerpore and Hyderabad had suffered themselves to be deluded into a contrary course, but assured Sir Henry that the period of their errors and follies had at length arrived; since, whatever might be their disposition, he and his relatives would now force the other members of the Talpoor family into the adoption of the right line of politics.

The presents were, after the delivery of this harangue, somewhat hastily produced and accepted, and Sir Henry Fane briefly remarking that the promises and assurances of Meer Roostum were fair and pleasing, but that a long course of vexatious opposition to the wishes of the British government, on the part of those who still ruled in Lower Sinde, had left the English no alternative but the adoption of the

promptest, and most decisive measures with a view to placing matters on an intelligible footing, moved to the door, and invited the abashed Sindian to accompany him to view a part of the means which were about to be employed for that, which he considered on the strength of Meer Roostum's own professions, the common advantage. All mounted forthwith—Sir Henry Fane on his lofty charger riding by the side of the Talpoor chief on his humbler steed. The relatives, the Wuzeers, the retainers, and the British generals and their staffs proceeded in such order as they could form in, or preserve, the Arab and Hindoostanee chargers curvetting and fighting with the neighing and prancing quadrupeds of Sinde, to a spot, where on the edge of the encampment the Bengal brigade of cavalry with its artillery was drawn up. It received Meer Roostum with a general salute, and then began to defile past him. The Sindian, a man of portly, rather comely, and very venerable appearance, and soft and courteous manners, eyed anxiously and earnestly this specimen of the force, which was destined to chastise or subdue his brethren. The brigade was up to this time in high order, its soldiers were healthy, and starvation had not yet lowered the condition or mettle of its horses. The size, spirit,

caparisoning and training of these animals produced a sentiment of unfeigned astonishment in the mind of the Ameer.

First the artillery moved by, and then the 2nd light cavalry; but when the column of the lancers began to pass, this array of European strength, comeliness, and complete equipment, took Meer Roostum by surprise, and pointing alternately to the 2nd light cavalry, and to the British files, he exclaimed,* “An nuql ust, lekin een usl ust.” “Oh! that is the copy, but this is the original.” The military spectacle lasted upwards of half an hour. Then the Ameer and his Excellency parted, after friendly leavetaking; and now the cause of the delays of the morning were developed, and it was explained that all hopes of an amicable conference had at one time nearly proved abortive, that several times the dissuasive arguments of the Wuzeer, who was unfriendly to the measure of an interview, had nearly prevailed, that the alarmed and doubting Ameers had, in terror and perplexity, made seven or more halts between their encampment and the durbar tent, and had only been brought on at last by strong doses of encouragement, mingled with hints of offence,

* آن نقل است لیکن این عمل است

which their retrocession would now inevitably give, which were skilfully exhibited by Sir Alexander Burnes at each fresh accession of doubt and hesitation. As "words," including, it may be supposed, proper names, have been ruled to be "things," it may be right to specify that the appellations of the Khyrpore Ameers, according to seniority are, Meer Roostum, Meer Moobaruk, and Alee Moorad; and that their subjects are wont somewhat scornfully to describe them in three pithy, though not very complimentary rhymes, which are said to constitute a pretty faithful epitome of their characters.

" Meer Roostum rung men.
Meer Moobaruk jung men.
Alee Moorad bhung men."

which may be thus freely Englished :

" Meer Roostum a showy ass is,
Meer Moobaruk in war surpasses,
Alee Moorad too fond of his glass is."

At the review and conference of the 27th "a moral lesson" was at once read, and a proof of British honesty given to Meer Roostum and "his brothers near the throne." But these sufficed not to unlock their hearts closed by the consciousness of indwelling duplicity. The

production of the ratified treaty ought to have been followed by the prompt surrender of Bukkur, the key of the lower Indus. But the language held before and during the cavalry display, had put it beyond doubt that the important measure was decided upon of marching to the aid of Sir John Keane, and it must have been evident to the Sindians that, upon that account, time was most precious to the British. It is probable that they could not therefore withstand the temptation of trying whether the arts, which had so long detained the Bombay force might not avail to check for a time the advance of the army of the other presidency. Monday, the 28th, passed away, and the cession had not been carried into effect. During the whole of this period Sir Alexander Burnes was negotiating with the Ameers, and their minister, and urging upon them the decency and propriety of their fulfilling their compact. But he had, not now for the first time certainly, to deal with men, to whom a direct and decisive line of conduct was unknown or inexplicable.

Their minds fertile in paltry excuses, and pleas of evasions, and as if unwilling to falsify the epithet applied to them by their neighbours, who describe the Sindians as "*aram tulub*"—seekers of ease,—or perhaps still hoping to hear

news from lower Sinde, which might imbolden them to withhold the fortress altogether, or believing, or affecting to believe that the British would act, as they themselves could have comported themselves under parallel circumstances, and having taken possession of the stronghold, proceed to attack Roree, assault the Sindian camp, and violate all the terms of the compact of peace; they continued to put off the evil hour. It is known that their force behind Roree was considerably reinforced. On our side, therefore, strong pickets were posted, as our successive brigades arrived in their positions, which fronted in that direction, and the strictest watch was secretly kept on every movement in the Sindian lines. This circumspection was put to the proof on the night of the 28th, when a single shot from the musket of an inadvertent sepoy of the rear-guard of the 37th regiment native infantry, turned out the whole line of three brigades of infantry, the cavalry, and powerful artillery. It happened that the whole got under arms rapidly, steadily, and without noise, and turned in again in the same order as soon as the real cause of the false alarm was ascertained, and this little alert might have proved to our enemies, and false friends, that they had a poor prospect of ever obtaining

any advantage over a British force, as they had been wont to reckon on overwhelming a careless camp of Asiatics, by their favourite device of a *shubkhood*,* a species of visit, with which both Sindians and Affghans often threatened us.

An early hour on the morning of the 29th was next fixed by the Ameer for the transfer of the place, and a wing of the 35th native infantry, and the flank companies of the 16th, under Colonel Monteath of the former corps, were ordered to be in readiness to take possession of it. This day also was wearing away, whilst notes were continually passing between Sir Alexander Burnes and the Ameers, their ministers, and the Killadar of the fort. Boats had been brought to the *ghat* near to the spot where Sir Henry Fane's fleet was moored, and the troops had piled their arms on the sandy beach. The sun was declining, and it was observed that the three pieces, which had before been mounted on different faces of the work, had been all brought to the south-eastern rampart and pointed towards the spot where the vessels were assembled. A letter sent to

* Literally night slaughter, a nocturnal attack.

the Sindian Killadar demanding the keys of the great gate, had been answered by an objection to the rank and authority of the personage who was made the medium of the requisition. All seemed mysterious and fluctuating. It would have been easy indeed to have cut the knot. Guns might have been dragged to the top of the limestone heights near the Ziarutgah, placed in position, where these eminences command the fortress, another battery established amongst the hills of Sukkur, and a force ferried over and a lodgment made in the island of Khaju Khizzur. Thence and from the Sukkur side, from which to the greater island itself, across the narrower channel, the bridge was firmly compacted, the result of an attack by two columns after a cannonade and bombardment of some hours, could not have been doubtful. But the Ameers continued to promise fair, and it was not considered politic to tempt them by too strong measures to break with us at this conjuncture.

Finally, a more cautious, formal, and ceremonious note sent by a messenger of higher rank procured for us the keys, which were delivered to Sir Alexander Burnes, and the native troops went on board eight large boats, which

had been prepared for them, in great order, and with much alacrity and steadiness. Yet still there was no absolute certainty that men, who had dallied so long, would not frame fresh excuses, the more especially as the Sindian garrison and their Killadar yet remained in the fortress. It seemed prudent, therefore, to provide for the case of possible resistance, whether arising from the treachery of the princes or the contumacy of their soldiery; and, with this view, when Sir Willoughby Cotton and his staff, and the British envoy took their places in the prow of the vessel, which was to lead, two bags filled with a quantity of powder deemed sufficient to blow in the great gate, were also put on board. An engineer and artillery officer embarked in this boat. Onwards the soldiers of this little flotilla moved in high spirits towards the walls and lofty portal; but as they neared them, the Sindian boatmen struggling with full force of oars to avoid being carried beyond the destined point and below the fortress by the stream, and to shun dangerous collision with the imperfectly-moored boats of the nearer bridge, two vessels were seen crossing from Bukkur to Roree crowded almost to sinking with the little garrison. Our crews continued to pull with

loud shouts towards the walls of the fortress, and one boat full of native soldiers having touched the shore before that of Sir Willoughby Cotton, they landed, filed up the bank, and formed close to the gate. In another moment Bukkur was in our possession. The general and his staff and Sir Alexander Burnes sprung ashore, the ponderous portal flew open at the touch of the Sindian keys, the sepoys in great goodhumour shouted as is their custom on occasions of joy "*Buhm, Buhm, Mahadeo,*" toiled up the winding ascent to the main rampart, crowned it, waved their caps and arms, and planted the British ensign by the side of that of Meer Roostum on one of the towers. The little detachment was soon formed in the great area, the keys formally given in charge to the new governor, Colonel Monteath, guards posted, and the place secured, and before the shades of night had shut in the scene, the general of the Bengal contingent and his staff, and Sir Alexander Burnes, whose able and persevering negotiations were thus rewarded by ultimate success, had made their way back in a light cutter to their encampment.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. It was a most auspicious circumstance in the outset of these operations, that the force had to pass through the territories of a ruler so friendly as Bhawul Khan. It is difficult to estimate the inconveniences to which it would have been subjected, if in this stage of events its efforts had been baffled by intrigues, such as those of Mihrab Khan, and the Ameers of lower Sinde, or if in the Daoodpootras it had found foes as malignant, and mercurial, as afterwards in the Belooche freebooters, or the various predatory tribes, which infested the route from the Indus to the environs of Cabool. The vicinity of the Bikaneer and Jessulmere deserts would have afforded nearly as great facilities for an inglorious and harassing species of warfare as the wastes of Cutch Gundava, or the mountain ridges of the Brahoick, the Burleekee, the Khoja Amran or the Gautee ranges, or the heights, which overhang the valley of the Turnuk. Doubtless the Daoodpootra had strong inducements at this period to be faithful. Besides, the powerful force which was traversing his land, a British division (the second) was encamped on his frontier, ready to be put in motion on the first symptom of disaffection,

and it is not surprising that he was little disposed at this period to run the risk of being called upon by us to hand over a further portion of his territories to our Sikh ally, who in past times had forced him to make important cessions.

2°. The negotiations of Sir Alexander Burnes, which ended in the surrender of Fort Bukkur without a shot, deserve to be classed with the ablest efforts of British diplomacy in Asia. Let it be remembered that the Sindians had a wrong to complain of in the cool and contemptuous notification of our intention of suspending part of the provisions of the commercial treaty of 1832, as before adverted to. This might have sufficed to arouse the suspicions of a less jealous people, but moreover, they could hardly even at this time have been ignorant of the further intentions of the British government. They must probably have known that a formal demand would be made upon the Talpoor dynasty for the payment of twenty-eight lacs of rupees arrears of tribute to Shah Shooja, and that the whole line of the Indus was about to be occupied by British garrisons. This was the state of affairs when Burnes had the address to persuade the ruling Ameer of the Khyrpore branch, that his sole hope of safety in the coming storm

lay in promptly detaching himself from the family and national league, and propitiating the English by placing in their hands the only fortress in his dominions. As the journey into Central Asia had already given the negotiator a high place amongst British travellers, so the acquisition of Bukkur for his government stamped him at once as an able diplomatist. It is to be observed, however, that his representations were backed with a most powerful argument ; for though at the time the treaty of surrender was signed, the Bengal contingent had not even reached Bhawulpore, yet it was known to be steadily advancing towards the frontiers of the Khyrpore territory, the whole forces of which country could not have stood half an hour in open field against one of its brigades. If Colonel Pottinger, in Lower Sinde, had gone to Hyderabad, supported by a force as much the master of its own movements as the Bengal contingent, it is probable that his negotiations too would have been brought to a more speedy conclusion.

3°. The difficulties, with which the army under Sir John Keane was environed, at the conjuncture which the narrative has reached, plainly appear to have arisen out of the error of preferring a maritime expedition to an ad-

vance upon Sindé by land. The consequences were a temporary paralysis of the powers of the fine contingent, which had just debarked without means of transport on the hostile coast, and the disunion of the forces, which had been destined to operate in concert against the frontiers of Affghanistan. Fort Bukkur, which was the true point of junction, had indeed fallen into our hands, but between the Bengal and Bombay head-quarters a levy of twenty-five thousand Sindians and alien Belooches lay encamped, and the communication was so completely interrupted, that for some days despatches could not be conveyed without great risk up either bank of the Indus, even by the secret agents in the pay of our diplomatists.

4°. Praise has already been bestowed on the prompt passage of the Indus by the contingent of Shah Shooja. The establishment of his force at Shikarpore, which immediately supervened thereupon, was a bold but perfectly safe and judicious measure, a front being thus shown towards his ancestral dominions, whilst the Bengal army made its lateral movement into Sindé. Shikarpore is two marches only from Bukkur, with which place the Shah was soon therefore to be connected by our growing

bridges, whilst he derived support from the force which we had left there in position.

5°. The necessity for the flank march towards Hydrabad ought not to be controverted. It would have been in opposition to every sound principle, both military and diplomatic, to have prolonged our march beyond the right bank of the Indus, before we had secured our left flank, restored our communications with the Bombay contingent, and ascertained that the negotiations with the Hydrabad Ameers were in one way or another brought to a favourable issue.

CHAPTER IV.

Advance of three brigades towards Noushuhra—Return visit of Meer Roostum near Khyrpore—March from Roree—Golden prospects of the army—Bengal column reaches Khandujara—Menaces—Hydrabad—Retraces its steps to Bukkur—Sir John Keane prepares to advance by the right bank of the Indus—Passage of the Indus—Observations.

THE time had now arrived when it was necessary without further delay to commence the operation, which was expected very effectively to aid in deciding all that was doubtful in Lower Sind. Whilst Bukkur was slowly lapsing into our hands, as above related, accounts had been received from Sir John Keane, which fully confirmed the intelligence which had before reached us, to the effect that the undisguised *ultimatum* of Colonel Pottinger, the main features of which were, the demand of payment to us by the Sindian rulers of the three families of twenty-eight lacs of rupees, arrears of tri-

bute due to Shah Shooja, and the purposed occupation by British troops, to be subsisted by the Ameers, of their towns of Sehwan and Tatta, and their fortress of Curachie, had been scornfully rejected by the rulers of the western delta of the Indus. We learnt at the same time that they were moving forward from the Meerpoor territory a large force for the defence of Hyderabad, and had interposed another between that capital and the Bombay army, the headquarters of which were soon after advanced to Jarruk.

Estimates of the strength of Indian levies are, owing to the natural heedlessness, mendacity, and passion for hyperbole of those, from whom information on the subject is sought, very commonly fallacious. But it was believed by such of the English in lower Sinde as were best instructed on the point, that the main forces in and around Hyderabad, including its garrison, and the foreign Belooches, which had been recently raised, did not fall short of twenty-five thousand soldiers. The crisis therefore seemed to us worthy of our best exertions, as on the 1st of February the cavalry, aided by the horse artillery, and the 1st and 2d brigades of infantry, supported by the camel battery, were put in

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motion towards the town of Noushuhra, in the expectation that this diversion would either compel the Ameers to detach a corps to dispute our further progress, or induce them from the dread of the impending peril of being crushed between the forces of the two contingents, to accede at once to the propositions of Colonel Pottinger. The 4th brigade was placed in position on the left bank of the Indus, near Roree, as a reserve at once to our force, and that of Shah Shooja. The park and siege train were left at the same place. There was a strong inducement to adopt this last arrangement, because, although the bullocks which had dragged the long line of carts laden with ammunition and stores, as well as the heavy guns, from Ferozepore, had reached the Indus in excellent condition, it might not be prudent with reference to their anticipated labours in the provinces of the dismembered kingdom of Cabool, to exhaust and wear them out now by a long march to Hyderabad, and a toilsome countermarch back to the primary line of operation. At the same time, it was not to be forgotten, that as Sir John Keane's force was below, and that of Sir Willoughby Cotton above the Sindian capital, it might, without any vio-

lation of the laws of probability, come to pass that no way would have remained open to us of effecting the desired object of our movement but by an attack single-handed on the main fortress of our enemy.

The walls of Hyderabad had never been described as strong; but as they and the city adjacent to them, were defended by a garrison and force numerically overwhelming, and the ramparts of the fortress were said to be armed by a respectable artillery, it was most desirable that we should arrive before it, possessed of the means of battering in breach. The nine-pounders of our camel battery could only have been used as enfilading guns, or to keep down at the moment of assault the fire of the place. Choosing between difficulties however, as it is necessary perpetually to do in war, our election was made to leave the siege train under the walls of Bukkur.

It had been one of the strange consequences of the interruption of the communication between Upper and Lower Sinde, that the further progress of the commander-in-chief in India, on his voyage to the point of embarkation for England, was effectually arrested. It was of course impracticable to navigate his fleet past Hyderabad whilst occupied by our foes. About

this time too it was made known to his Excellency that her majesty's government could not at this conjuncture consent to be deprived of his valuable services, and therefore, with many expressions of well-merited commendation, had commanded his further stay in India until at least the termination of present hostilities. In consequence of this intelligence, Sir Henry Fane landed from his flotilla, attached his headquarters to the 1st brigade of infantry, and declared his intention of accompanying our march into Lower Sinde, not as the leader of our contingent, but as commander-in-chief in India in progress to Bombay, and as our friend, well-wisher, and valuable counsellor, which all esteemed him to be. Sir Willoughby Cotton as commander still purposed generally to move with the cavalry brigade.

Meer Roostum had made it his earnest request that our troops should not pass through his capital. Though the British, as has been seen, were not without grounds of complaints against him, yet as he had set the example of submission in Sinde, there was a disposition to gratify the natural desire of this ruler to be still honoured by his own people. A route was therefore chosen for the force in progress to Noushuhra, which would carry it about seven

miles to the westward of Khyrpore. At his camp yet nearer to the capital, Meer Roostum expressed a wish to receive the counter visit of Sir Henry Fane, which was accordingly paid on the day on which our leading column completed its third short march. The Ameers have all amassed wealth; and with that mixture of systematic avarice and occasional profusion often seen in those who are habituated to hoarding, are on the whole more munificent in the scale of their durbar presents than their Belooche, Sikh, or Affghan neighbours. At this interview they gave away some curious and costly specimens of the weapons and martial equipments of their country; matchlocks inlaid with gold and silver, swords with valuable hilts, horse-furniture richly embossed, and tastefully-embroidered belts, cartouche-boxes, and powder-horns. They have adopted a notion on this subject, however, a little disparaging to our countrymen. They consider that if they desire to gratify an Asiatic, it may be expedient to offer him a fine Persian blade; but that to propitiate an Englishman, a weapon of the most ordinary manufacture will suffice, if it have only gold enough on the hilt and mountings, or if the scabbard be richly set with precious stones.

On the 1st February, the force of cavalry and infantry, which Sir Willoughby Cotton was conducting against Hydrabad, began to penetrate the date groves, which lie to the south-westward of Roree. It was soon entangled in the limestone defiles, which flank the town ; and its first march into lower Sinde, in which it passed the camp of the minister of the Khyrpore Ameers, who yet lingered near Bukkur, was one of the most singular ever traversed by an army. For full five miles the route lay through a dense date-forest. The trees were so numerous that their leafy heads shut out the sun ; but the ground beneath, perfectly cleared from thicket, was every where enclosed and planted with pomegranate and orange trees. This long succession of gardens or orchards was subdivided, and protected by strong and high fences, so that the slightest deviation from the narrow and dusty road was impracticable. Onward in high order, and with great regularity, a blended force of all arms continued to thread these wooded mazes, until the dense enclosures were at length exchanged for copses, and deserted glades, and long stripes, and thick clumps of the date. The troops, breathing more freely as they emerged from the extensive

forests, found themselves between seven and eight A.M., after a hot and toilsome march, in an encamping-ground shut in by jungle.

The brother of Meer Roostum's Wuzeer, with a considerable *suwarree*, accompanied our advance, having proffered to act as our guide and commissary. His influence obtained for us supplies and a hospitable and civil reception in the villages ; but, notwithstanding the amicable professions of his court, and its affectation of alienation from the policy and counsels of Hyderabad, our topographer certainly appeared, under the pretext of conducting us by the most eligible route, to be manœuvring to delay and protract our march, so as to gain time for the fraternal Ameers, in the hostile capital, to mature their plans of resistance or evasion. At this period Sir Alexander Burnes usually rode at the head of our column, and afforded us the advantage of his experience and information ; and, in case of his unavoidable absence, we had the assistance, as an agent for the supply of our wants, and an interpreter, able in both capacities, of his celebrated Monshee or Meerza, Mohun Lal, who, born of Hindoo parents at Delhi, and educated in the college established there by the British, speaks English with a good accent and much idiomatic propriety.

This intelligent and amiable man accompanied his adventurous master through all his wanderings in Central Asia, displaying every where a rare union of zeal, tact, and fidelity, and, on his return to Hindoostan, published a journal of his tour, which, considered as the work of an Asiatic in a foreign tongue, may be reckoned a most creditable production. The educated people in Sinde all converse in Persian with fluency, with which *lingua franca*, as it may justly be esteemed from the Indus to the Caspian, the good Meerza and his gifted employer were, of course, equally familiar.

The columns continued their advance by the route indicated by the brother of the Wuzeer. It run, as has been intimated, nearer to the Indus than the more beaten track through Khyrpore, and lay over a well cultivated country, abounding with wheat, *joowaree*, and carrots, turnips, onions, and other vegetables, which, in the provinces of Hindoostan, as in England, are cultivated in gardens only, but here and in the Punjab in large fields. We soon discovered, however, that Sir Alexander Burnes had not erred, when he warned us not to look amongst the Sindians for the amicable feelings or honest dealings of the Daoodpootras. The Khyrporeans sold us every thing at prices

at which we now railed as exorbitant, but to which we would indeed have reverted with delight in after times amongst the mountains and deserts of Beloochistan, or even in the Ghiljee states, or the provinces of the Candahar, and Cabul rule, until complete success had, as it commonly does, brought plenty with it.

But at this period the spirits of every soldier in the Bengal contingent were buoyant and high. Before us lay Hyderabad. It was known to contain the accumulated wealth of the most affluent, as well as powerful, of the branches of the Talpoor family, amounting in specie, jewels, and other valuables, and ingots of gold, to eight crores of Sindian rupees well told, or not less than eight millions sterling. Such a prize is not often in a century, even in India, presented to the grasp of a British army. As we moved forward we heard daily of the contumacy and insolence of the Ameers having mounted higher and higher, of their obstinate and contemptuous rejection of all the proposals of Colonel Pottinger, of the whole of the officers of the British legation having quitted the capital, and of a tone of the most haughty defiance maintained on the brink of impending destruction by the Belooche and Sindian soldiery.

The Bombay force, partially supplied with

carriage animals, had now advanced from Tatta as far as Jarruk, but the country between it and the capital was of an impracticable character, nearly the whole tract consisting of one of those vast Shikargahs, or forests of tangled thicket, which, in the spirit of the earlier Norman rulers of England, the Ameers, to the great injury of their subjects, never permit them to clear away, preserving them as sanctuaries for game of every description. The passion of these princes for field sports is described as absorbing every other feeling but the lust of accumulating money. Their notions of the chase are not, however, very manly. The game, chiefly deer and wild hog, is either enticed to a spring, or driven in large quantities by numerous fielders in front of the lordly and lethargic sportsmen, who slaughter it by taking aim with their long and heavy matchlocks fixed in rests from a balcony.

A third prevailing peculiarity of these rulers is the hatred and dread of the intrusion of foreigners into their states. All their tastes and feelings, therefore, were now likely to be cruelly outraged. They were summoned to sterner exercises than the destruction of the forest race, and from the north and south alike a host

of foreign invaders was advancing, every soldier of each of which, from the general to the private sentinel, was already calculating the amount of his share of the hoards, from which the daylight had been so long excluded in the vaults of a round tower, lofty, massive, and mysterious, and nightly dreamt of by the army of the Indus, in the centre of the area of the fortress of Hyderabad. The prospect was delightfully in unison with the predatory sympathies of armed bodies; for, whether the troops from Bombay might, first penetrating the forests before them pass the river, and batter and assault the defences of the capital, or the Bengal contingent coming down upon it from the north, should carry the mouldering walls by a *coup-de-main*, Hyderabad appeared to be our destined prey, and its wealth our lawful prize, the fair requital of the labours of one force, and a noble and rightful compensation for the vexations endured by the other. But these hopes were speedily to be blasted, and the negotiator and his protocol, not the bayonet or the sabre, were to achieve all the triumphs which, for some months, were to be witnessed by the army of the Indus.

To other causes of congratulation had been added within a few days, the certainty not only that our lateral movement was in accordance

with true principles, which we had presumed never to doubt, but that the value of our voluntary aid was duly appreciated, a requisition having been received at our head-quarters from Sir John Keane, urging us, under the circumstances of the resistance which he continued to encounter, to move a troop of horse artillery, a detachment of cavalry, and a brigade of infantry in the direction of Hyderabad. Rejoiced to learn that we had anticipated the wishes of our commander, and even exceeded their limit; we moved forward on the 6th February over a country, sandy, but rendered productive by judicious irrigation by means of numerous cuts communicating with the great river, and well-planted with the jujube, and the babool, until we reached the vicinity of the town of Khandivara. Here we encamped at a short distance from a considerable eminence, covered with buildings of sunburnt brick, little expecting that our well-timed excursion into lower Sindh was to terminate at this place.

We had purposed to halt at Khandiyara a single day, and our advanced tents had on the 7th already been pushed on to the next encampment, when about ten P. M. despatches arrived from Sir John Keane, dated Jarruk, 1st February. Great and instantaneous was the

change made by these letters in the prospects of this army. In a moment all our visions of glory and of booty were dispelled. It was announced to us that the Ameers were at length brought to reason by a sense of the impending danger, and that, compelled to comprehend that a few days would, according to every calculation of human prudence, deprive them at once of their independence, their capital, and the accumulated treasures of years, they had accepted unreservedly all the conditions of the treaty laid before them by Colonel Pottinger. The negotiator, however, was unwilling to consider the pacification as complete, until ten lacs, in part of the twenty-eight of arrears of tribute, had been paid down by the Sindians. A few days had been allowed for the fulfilment of this stipulation. Sir John Keane therefore directed the brigades of the Bengal army to halt wherever his despatch might reach them, and await his further instructions.

Meanwhile intelligence reached us that both bridges over the Indus had been completed, and the army, bitterly disappointed by the upshot of its endeavours in lower Sinde, found comfort in the hope of an early advance into Affghanistan. Antecedently to the events just recorded, part of the levy of Shah Shooja, detached from Shikarpore, had taken possession

of the large town of Larkhanu on the right bank of the Indus ; and soon after we were for the first time put in communication with the envoy and minister at the court of the prospective monarch. Mr. Macnaghten having completed all the diplomatic arrangements with the ruler of the Sikhs, of which the visit to Lahore was introductory, had passed down the Indus, and reached the head-quarters of the contingent, still fixed at Shikarpore. Arrived there, his mind appears to have been assailed with troublesome and natural, but needless apprehensions, when he found that a considerable portion of the Bengal force had diverged from the original line of advance towards Affghanistan, and was already within a few marches of Nushuhra on the high-road to Hyderabad. Fearing that the success of the principal enterprise might be endangered by the delay attendant upon this operation, he wrote strongly to urge our immediate countermarch upon Bukkur, and prompt appearance upon the right bank of the Indus.

These representations reached us at Khandiara. No other reply could at the moment be offered to them, than that Sir Willoughby Cotton was now in communication with Sir John Keane, and must await his further in-

structions. But it was not long before the arrival of these enabled us to act in full conformity with the wishes of the envoy. The Ameers had paid down the ten lacs, and Sir John's mandate was issued for our return to Bukkur. Vainly repining therefore at the change in events which had given this small sum to the state, instead of endowing the army with eight crores, its officers and men with light purses and heavy hearts, turned their backs on Hyderabad, from which they had hoped never to recede, until they had made its treasures their own, and put to a stern proof that Belooche valour, which had so loudly vaunted its power to arrest their further progress, and fix on the banks of the Indus the war which they had set out resolved to carry into the centre of Affghanistan.

But in fact the demonstration in the direction of Noushuhra, had produced every military and political effect which was expected from it, though the event had not been precisely that which the troops employed in it could have desired. Each successive despatch represented that the Ameers, before so haughty and audacious, were at length humbled in the dust, and acutely felt that so far from being enabled to delay the chastisement of our enemies beyond

the frontiers of Beloochistan, they had themselves only escaped, by British clemency, from the jaws of utter destruction. The Bengal troops, without varying their route, returned to Bukkur and the line of the Indus, whilst Sir John Keane in preference to crossing at Hyderabad, and passing up to the same point by Hala and Nousuhra, prepared to march up the right bank of the river, by Sehwan and the Lukkee pass.

On the 14th February we were informed that the whole of our siege-train and park had been safely ferried across the Indus on rafts, it being deemed unwise to try the strength of the bridges with the weight of ordnance of such caliber ; and on the same day an officer reached our head-quarters, who had seen the 2nd brigade, which, now that the order of our march was reversed, of course preceded us, pass with the utmost regularity and in the highest spirits over the pontoons from Roree to the island of Bukkur, and then from the sandy islet to the right bank of the Indus. Here, therefore, was an end of the unfounded doubts of some regarding the willingness of the native soldiers to serve beyond the boundary of the "*Hingun nuddee*," as they are wont to denominate the great stream, which the superstition of the Shasters

was said to have consecrated as the legitimate limit of the peregrination of all Hindoos. We now knew that our communication with Shikarpore was secure ; but were as fully sensible as before of the impolicy of unnecessary delay in advancing in that direction, since the engineers had predicted that the bridges would not resist the force of the stream after the rise of the river, which was to be expected at the period of the vernal equinox, and might possibly take place sooner.

Our head-quarters were moved from Beeraloo, two hours before daylight, on the 15th February. The 1st brigade had preceded us, and its baggage animals were crowding the narrow road and raising a dense cloud of dust, as we once more entered the date groves and defiles near Roree. Thus obstructed, we won our way slowly down to the bank of the great river, whilst the heavy mists of Upper Sinde hung around our path. But these were dispersed as the sun, seen at intervals from amongst the trunks and branches of the truly oriental tree of which the forest around us was composed, began to shed forth fierce beams, and we were reminded that we had indeed escaped in time from the influence of its fervours in Lower Sinde, since, a few marches

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from the Indus, though the thermometer had stood at 45° at daylight, it had risen at noon in the smaller tents of our camp to 100°. We thought at the same time of our comrades from Bombay, whom we had not yet been permitted to meet, and who had so long a march up the margin of the lower portion of the great stream before them, defended from the heat by canvass dwellings inferior to our own in size and aptitude of form for repelling the solar rays.

Our route, as we approached the river, varied in direction from that by which we had quitted its banks. We did not now again seek a point on the bank opposite Khaja Khizzir, but leaving the town of Roree to our right, reached at once the head of the larger bridge. Again, then, was displayed before our eyes the scene of Fort Bukkur, amidst the waters on its limestone pedestal, and the blue spires of the Zyarut-gah on the guardian, jutting rock, which looked lordly down upon the waves of this noble stream, at length pootooned over from bank to bank. The prows and sterns of the boats which formed the means of transit, lay firm and immovable amidst the vexed and whirling currents of the stream. Strings of loaded camels were moving with stately tread across the scarcely yielding planks, and each

horseman of our party, dismounting and handing over his steed to the care of the attendant syce (who led his charge carefully on, holding him by the snaffle), walked forward, first to the sandy platform of the fort, and then by the smaller bridge up to the right bank of the great river. A hospitable reception awaited us at a late breakfast-hour in the mess tent of the engineer officers, pitched in the middle of a date grove, in that which was now designated the sappers' and miners' camp, and soon afterwards we repaired to our own encampment, fixed in a little valley shut in by limestone rocks, and surrounded by the extensive ruins of the once proud city of Sukkur. Headquarters remained upon this spot until the 19th, and as we had come to our ground, Sir Henry Fane and his suite had re-embarked in their boats, which had dropped about a mile and a half down the stream. Hence having sent orders to certain of his staff-officers, now at Meerut, to join him at Bombay, his Excellency prepared to resume his voyage to the mouths of the Indus, since recent events had, it was hoped, for ever secured the uninterrupted navigation of the stream. He designed on his way down to confer with Sir John Keane (the meeting afterwards took place at Sehwan) on

the subject of the momentous enterprise, the issues of which were now to depend on that general's perseverance, valour, and skill.

On successive days, the different brigades of the force, and all its considerable *matériel* now crossed by the bridges, encamped about four miles from the river bank, and then moved on in two marches, first to the village of Khaee, and then to the large city of Shikarpore. The guns of the horse artillery were pulled over partly by their own men, and partly by the active and willing Sipahs of the 16th regiment native infantry, from thirteen to seventeen men seizing the drag ropes, attached to each piece of cannon, and five or six impelling it from behind. This was an interesting sight, and the spectacle of the march of the three regiments of cavalry from bank to bank, was yet finer. They passed in single file, each officer, private and native trooper leading his horse on the left side. Not a single accident occurred, and not above a dozen horses out of the whole, famed as those bred in Bengal are for an intractable spirit, offered much resistance on the bridges, or manifested any serious symptoms of affright at the roaring of the waters on either side, or the occasional shrinking of the planks beneath their feet. This passage of the Indus will form

a memorable era in the records and recollections of the people of Sind. When Burnes first ascended the stream in 1831, their suspicions were aroused of strange and eventful innovations devised by the restless foreigners, the circle of whose influence had been long drawn more closely than they desired around them; but even then there arose not one from amongst them hardy enough to predict, that in eight years more, they should see ten thousand soldiers of the English Raj, with all their baggage and twelve pieces of cannon march along under the very walls of Bukkur, on a few planks and timbers sawn hastily from the date groves at Sukkur, bound together with cordage partly spun from the herbage on the spot, and supported by ninety-four boats of their own merchant craft.

It would be ungrateful in speaking of our means of passing the great river, to forget the valuable aid which was received in the course of the undertaking from Lieutenant Wood, of the Bombay marine, an officer, who, not content with discoveries immediately connected with his own profession, and with having carefully surveyed the Indus from its several mouths to the Attock, had carried his researches into the countries on the left bank of the stream near

that celebrated passage, and along both margins of the Cabool river. Regarding the tracts thus visited, his information is said to be extensive. He had accompanied the fleet of Sir Henry Fane from Ferozepore to Bukkur, as had the enterprising and ingenious Mr. Masson, whose historical and topographical discoveries in Affghanistan, Beloochistan, and the Punjab, are so highly and deservedly prized in India. Lieutenant Wood's counsel and personal efforts were most useful to us from the period of the first exertions of our engineers at Roree, to the breaking up of our bridges on the rise of the river in the middle of March, when the mass of our force with its cannon and baggage was already traversing the plains of Cutch Gundava.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The march into Sinde was imperatively demanded by the aspect of affairs. Sir Willoughby Cotton, the military commander, who projected and executed it, had not forgotten that the main object of the campaign was the restoration of the Dooranee empire, and that this must be held in seeming abeyance if he moved against Hyderabad. He had, however, reflected that the passage of the Indus had been virtually secured since the surrender of Bukkur, but that

his bridges for the actual transit could not be completed before the 7th February, and would probably be safe until the middle of March, that the interval therefore might be usefully employed in a demonstration, which was well calculated to bring the Sindians at once to terms; but if they continued contumacious, it was yet more important to secure our left flank and rear against any enterprise which might, after all that had been spoken and done in Upper Sindh in a spirit seemingly amicable, have nevertheless been concerted between the Ameers of Hyderabad and their plausible brethren of Khyrpore. In short, it was necessary that Sindh should be politically settled and its armies disposed of, before Affghanistan could be safely invaded. The result of the well-timed interposition of the Bengal contingent has been seen.

2°. A force then of all arms moved towards Hyderabad. The question was not free from difficulty; but to me it yet appears evident that it ought to have taken with it every thing which was necessary for the scientific reduction of the place. As matters turned out a battering train was not required; but this will not satisfy all critics of the expediency of leaving it at Roree. Nine-pounders could not have breached the walls of Hyderabad, and to have

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arrived before them, without the means of making a practicable opening, might have covered the whole operation with contempt, and perilled the success of the ulterior measures. Ghuznee was afterwards an example of signal success achieved by a daring *coup-de-main*; but such attempts are hazardous experiments, only justifiable where the absence of adequate means constitutes their true wisdom. The objection that the train might be required more urgently against the walls of Candahar, Herat, Ghuznee, or Cabool, and that therefore the means of transport ought to have been spared in Sinde, must not be allowed too much weight; for as the heavy guns had hitherto followed the army uninterruptedly, though *longo intervallo*, steady perseverance might have enabled them to keep their original place throughout the war; at all events, if it was decided that the army should move against Hydrabad at all, it ought to have marched towards it fully prepared to reduce it *secundum artem*.

3°. The uneasiness of the British envoy and minister relative to the flank movement into Sinde has been already noticed. It is impossible not to concur with him in the expediency of never losing sight of the main objects of the most complicated operations: but if military

caution bid us at this crisis look well to our left flank and rear, so political foresight seemed to demand that no forward movement should be attempted against Affghanistan until the power of the Ameers of Sinde to do mischief had been prostrated. I venture to think that, after all, these deceitful rulers were dealt with far too leniently. They had rejected after mature deliberation the terms proposed by Colonel Pottinger. Surely, since he was aware that aid was coming down from the north, the time had arrived for him abruptly and for ever to close the negotiations. Then, before one contingent or the other, or before both united, Hyderabad would have fallen, and a salutary and impressive lesson have been read, not only to Sinde, but to all the nations around. Had the sagacious and energetic ruler of British India been at Khandiyara or at Jarruk instead of in the Punjab, at the crisis of the scornful rejection of our terms, would he not have dictated the measure of an immediate attack upon the capital? Whatever course he might have pursued, no blame can of course attach to his diplomatists and generals on account of their adoption of a course of policy based on a forbearance almost without a parallel in history. They were bound by the letter of instructions, which had been



framed at a distance from the scene of the transactions to which they related; but subsequent events have afforded room to fear, that though the opportunity in February, 1839, was golden, the work of humbling the pride of the Ameers of Sind has been very imperfectly done.

CHAPTER V.

Head-quarters of Bengal column fixed at Shikarpore—Shah Shooja, and his contingent—Progress of the Bombay army—Advance of the army of Bengal—Predatory attacks of the Belooche tribes—Dearth of water and forage—Sir Willoughby Cotton crosses the desert to Burshoree—Further progress—Pass and defiles in front of Noushuhra—Fearful gale—Dadur—Observations.

HEAD-QUARTERS of the Bengal force were fixed at Shikarpore on the 20th February. The plains around this city of native money changers are arid and dusty, and the heat even at this season was at midday oppressive. A screen of date-trees intervened between our extensive encampment, and the frail and contemptible walls of the town, and the verdure of their tops, was the only relief which the eye could find on the dead level around. During the three days of our halt here our time was too much taken up by

reviews of the several brigades, interviews and discussions, and various preparations for the ensuing operations, to admit of our indulging in amateur research.

We were now, for the first time, in the same encampment with Shah Shooja, whose tents displayed something of oriental magnificence; whilst in the present state of his affairs it was gratifying to observe that essentials had not been neglected. Since the contingent had crossed the Indus, the officers of both cavalry and infantry had been indefatigable in their endeavours to improve the discipline of their corps, and the success of their efforts was manifest in the order of their camp, and the style in which their battalions were seen manœuvring in front of it. The Shah himself was at this time said to be very observant of the forms of his own faith, his attention to which is reported since to have relaxed. His state, when he appeared in public, did not materially differ from that by which he was surrounded, whilst in retirement at Loodiana. He was commonly borne on men's shoulders in a gilded litter fenced from the sun by a kind of circular dome, which was guarded and preceded by about sixty attendants of various kinds habited in scarlet, some armed with javelins, some with drawn

sabres, some carrying silver sticks, a certain proportion shouting out the titles of their master, and all hurrying on at a rapid pace to keep up with the royal *nalkee*. The most singular part of the costume of the monarch's retinue are the caps, by which a few of them are distinguished, of red cloth ornamented with long horns of black felt, which give the wearers the air of representing in masquerade the great enemy of the human race.

The king himself is rather a stout person of the middle size, his chin covered with a long, thick, and neatly-trimmed beard, dyed black to conceal the encroachments of time. His manner towards the English is gentle, calm, and dignified, without haughtiness; but his own subjects have invariably complained of his reception of them as cold and repulsive even to rudeness. His complexion is darker than that of the generality of Affghans, and his features if not decidedly handsome, are not the reverse of pleasing; but the expression of his countenance would betray to a skilful physiognomist that mixture of timidity and duplicity so often observable in the character of the higher order of men in Southern Asia.

Whilst we remained on the right bank of the Indus a succession of despatches had made

known to us that Sir John Keane was steadily pursuing his march towards Upper Sind. His head-quarters were established at Majindu, on the 12th February, and he was known to have been only one march short of Sehwan, on the 17th, and whilst he was thus advancing towards the frontiers of Affghanistan, the occupation of the country behind him had been fully provided for by an event, the relation of which has been hitherto deferred in order to preserve unbroken the thread of the narrative. Whilst the negotiations at Hydrabad wore the most warlike aspect, another brigade of infantry, consisting of Her Majesty's 40th regiment, and two native corps, had been sent round by sea from Bombay under the command of Brigadier Valiant. Of this force a wing of the European soldiers was embarked on board of Her Majesty's ship Wellesley of 74 guns, which carried the flag of Sir Frederick Maitland, the admiral of the station. When she entered the bay of Curachie, the Sindians in the small fort of the same name, with inconceivable audacity, fired a gun at one of her boats. The admiral, the same who had known how to unite courtesy and compassion in his treatment of Napoleon in the day of his adversity, was not disposed to be trifled with by these barbarians. He returned the shot from a

gun better pointed than that of the soldiers of the Ameers; and on a renewal of the insult, opened a broadside in good earnest, and soon silenced the fire of the fort effectually, and drove its defenders in terror from its ramparts. Brigadier Valiant's brigade landing, occupied Tatta and some adjacent points, thus rivetting our hold on Sind, and providing for the due execution of the terms of the treaty, whilst both contingents of the army of the Indus, with which the newly-arrived brigade was not incorporated, were thus left more at liberty to combine to bring back Affghanistan under its rightful yoke.

The force from Bengal had no intention of letting the grass grow under its feet at Shikarpore. We reached it on the 20th February. On the same morning, Sir Willoughby Cotton held a conference with the envoy and minister, and he had a private audience of His Majesty the Shah in the evening. At the former, an immediate advance on Dadur was determined on, several objections, which had been started, having been shown to be insufficient. Despatches arrived from Lord Auckland whilst Sir Willoughby Cotton and a large party were at table with the envoy on the same day, and time at this crisis being precious, a second consulta-

tion was held after dinner upon their contents. The military commander had, the next morning, the satisfaction to receive from the same high authority a letter expressive of his lordship's full approbation of the movement into lower Sindh, although he was not then informed of its important results. On this day and the next the Shah, who was desirous of seeing a part of the British army, reviewed, from his *nalkee*, the cavalry, and the 1st and 4th brigades of infantry. His Majesty, surrounded by his retinue as before described, was accompanied by the envoy and minister, and his assistants Major Todd, and Lieutenant Macgregor, in full diplomatic and military costume. He was plainly habited in a black vest, or *ulkhali*, and wore on his head the kind of tiara to be seen in most of the portraits of the Mahomedan sovereigns of Hindoostan, the crown of which is square, with a jewel depending from each angle. His youngest son, the Shahzada Shapoor, a remarkably fair and handsome boy, nine years of age, the offspring of a Cashmeerian mother, rode on horseback in his father's train. The Shah seemed to be unfeignedly pleased with the military display before him on both days, and with the respect manifested towards him by British officers of all ranks; and on the second occasion he presented

Sir Willoughby Cotton, on the field, with a handsome sword of Persian manufacture.

On the 23rd our more serious employment recommenced. The cavalry was put in motion, before daylight, towards the village of Jagan, our first march in the direction of Dadur. Here it must be narrated, that although by advancing up the right bank of the Indus, the Bombay army had avoided the inconvenience of a two-fold passage of that mighty river, it was discovered that the route which it had chosen, was not free from difficulties. At the Lukkee pass a single march from Sehwan, one of the selected points of military occupation, it had found the road on the bank of the stream eaten away by the encroachments of the water, and could make no progress until its engineers had cut a passage round the side of the hills above. Despatches received from Sir John Keane, a little before the commencement of the royal review on the 22nd, indicated that these labours would hardly be brought to a close in fewer than five days.

On the 24th we resumed our route. From the time of the second arrival of our headquarters on the Indus, the effect on our carriage cattle, of long marches and deleterious forage, had become more distinctly visible. From Sukkur to Shikarpore the road may be said without

hyperbole to have been strewn with dead and dying camels. The complaints of the commissariat on that head were already loud, and the abandonment and loss of private baggage had increased to a painful amount. When, therefore, we traced upon the map the vast tracts of impoverished plain, and absolute desert, which we had yet to traverse, and the mountain ranges over which we had to climb, it was manifest that even if, as had been predicted, the restoration should be effected wholly by the skill of negotiators and politicians, yet even the task of escorting them, assigned in these anticipations to the army of the Indus, was not a light undertaking.

Between Jagan and Janeedera we crossed the frontier line, which separates the territory of Shikarpore (blessed in having to pay tribute to two of the three branches of the Talpoor family) from Cutch Gundava or Cutchee, one of the provinces of the extensive country of Beloochistan, some of which are in a state of real, and some of merely nominal dependance on Mihrab Khan, our worthy ally of Kelat. At Janeedera we had a specimen of the treatment we were to expect from his subjects. A depot of straw had been collected under the walls of a trifling mud fort for the use of our cavalry, and that of the

Shah. But we were not now in the secure and friendly land of the Nuwab Bhawul Khan. The guard of the Shah's Hindoostanee troops had been attacked, and dispersed by a band of marauders, and the straw carried off. The intelligence of fresh obstacles also reached us here. The roads through Cutch Gundava, by which we were advancing, had been cut under the direction of Major Leech, assistant at that time to Sir Alexander Burnes. They were for the most part good ; but to lessen yet further the chances of detention, the engineer department had, as before, preceded us to level all obstacles. From Captain Thomson we now received a communication to the effect that at Rojhan, which we might expect to reach on the 25th, we should find only two wells, the water of one of which was fetid and unfit for human use. From Sir Alexander Burnes however, who about this time rejoined us from Shikarpore, we had the pleasure of hearing of a third shaft, which he himself had caused to be sunk, and faced with brick. Still this was not a promising state of things for a brigade of cavalry, which was to be followed by two of infantry, the siege train and the numerous animals of our vast commissariat establishment.

The 2nd brigade had been left for the present at Shikarpore ; but for the force, with which we

moved, we had reason to expect a deficiency of that, which men are too apt to undervalue until it becomes scarce,—of water, without which food cannot be cooked, the claims of cleanliness attended to, or the burning thirst quenched of soldiers worn down by tedious marching over sandy plains. We knew that at Rojhan we should find ourselves on the edge of a desert tract, which occupies the centre of Cutch Gundava. It is, in the hotter and drier months, a plain of arid sand, but is converted by the first heavy falls of rain into a salt marsh. The whole of it is swept at periods by the fatal *simoom* ; it is pestilential amidst the extreme heats of April and May ; not less so when its sands have been converted into swamps by the rains of June, July, August, and September ; or when the exhalations rise in dense vapour from it a month later. We were therefore favoured in having to traverse it at a safe period of the year. The northern part of this unpropitious level is cultivated by means of bringing down water in small cuts from the Naree river, which is said to rise in the mountains north-west of Sebee, and from the stream which flows down the valley of Bolan. But at the period of our arrival at Jancedera, a *bund* or restraining dam had been thrown across the former near the town of Sewee, or

Sebee, whilst our route would not for some marches bring us near the latter.

Grass is, as might be expected, hardly ever to be procured in that unblessed portion of Cutch Gundava, which we were now approaching, and the only substitute for it which is to be found, viz., the stalks or straw of *joowar* or *bajra* (*holcus sorgum* and *spicatus*), called by the natives of Hindoostan *kurbee*, was not abundant; and it was either vexatiously withheld by the Ryots, or our little magazines of it plundered by the Belooche marauders, as soon as they became aware how much we stood in need of it. To march a strong brigade of cavalry across such a region might well therefore be deemed a difficult task, and it was evident that it could only be accomplished by causing it to pass the desert by single regiments or detachments of a few squadrons only, according to the extent to which exigences might develop themselves. It became of primary importance, also, to endeavour to secure a supply of water by cutting the dam of the Naree near Sebee, and sparing no labour or expense to improve and increase the numbers of the wells as we advanced; whilst the only hope of obtaining forage was in the activity of parties sent out into the hamlets and towns to seize

such small supplies of *kurbee* as might be found in them.

It was not very encouraging at the same time to learn that when, in 1834, Shah Shooja, in the course of his calamitous expedition to recover his throne, had come into this dreary vicinage, ignorant of the difficulties before him, thirty thousand of his troops and followers, and all his baggage animals had moved down in a mass upon the two wells of Rojhan. The scene of suffering and loss of life, which ensued, was such as to defy description. Our advance was more cautious and methodical, and therefore free from the disasters of the force of the royal refugee. The 1st brigade was directed to halt at Jagan, and the 4th, with which General Nott now moved, was ordered to close upon it, and it was not until the reports of General Thackwell and his staff-officers had assured us that the three wells at Rojhan would furnish an ample supply for the force which accompanied us, that we moved forward on the 27th with the artillery and a regiment of cavalry to that place.

Here we were refreshed in the midst of local sterility by receiving a despatch from the Governor-general; in which he not only expressed his unqualified approbation of the lateral march into lower

Sinde, the important results of which his foresight had enabled him to anticipate, but suggested, to our great satisfaction, the very movement, which had been made from Shikarpore, and urged us to press on without delay to Dadur, as soon as the great objects, which had led us off in the direction of Hydrabad, should be fully accomplished. Though the desert is defined by some topographers as commencing at Rojhan, the tract between that place and Janeedera may fairly be included under the same denomination. It is a level of hard sand impregnated with salt. This mixed substance crackles under the feet of horses as they traverse it, but it does not yield under them, sufficiently to impede their progress. There are no productions on the face of the country, excepting the tree called by the natives *jhal*, the thorn, which our followers denominated *jin*, a species of the wild caper (*caparis aphylla*), called in Hindoostan *kurel*, and some varieties of the *juwasa* or camel-thorn.

Our perplexities were not at an end, we had not yet indeed got into the midst of them. From Rojhan to the town and mud forts of Burshoree extends an unbroken level of twenty-seven miles of sandy desert, in which there is not only neither well, spring, stream, nor puddle, but not a tree, and scarcely a bush, an herb

or a blade of grass. General Thackwell with the lancers, and a small force of infantry, and irregular horse had passed over this tract in a few hours; but after waiting in vain two days at Burshoree in the hope of procuring forage, he had marched twenty-seven miles more to Oostar, where he found grass and straw, and in a small lake, which turned out to be a reservoir of water brought by a little canal from the Naree, there was enough of the valuable element to satisfy for a day or two the demands of a brigade. We derived in this season of difficulty the greatest assistance from Sir Alexander Burnes, whose efforts were unceasing. He was accompanied by the governor of Gundava, who had been despatched to our aid by our plausible ally, Mihrab Khan.

Unfortunately it happened that Major Garden, our able and scientific quartermaster-general, was at this period, when his exertions would have been most valuable to us, confined to his tent by an alarming attack of illness, the consequence of exposure to the sun in lower Sindh. His place was however supplied, for a few days, by Major Craigie, the adjutant-general; who, with Sir Alexander Burnes, pressed on in advance of the head-quarters from Rojhan, and organized the means of our supply of water and

forage in moving towards Dadur. Under these circumstances of delay and chagrin it was pleasing to learn from the secret agents of the political department, that the promptitude, with which we had broken up from Shikarpore, had evidently taken by surprise the sirdars of Candahar. They had yet adopted no measures for the defence of the Bolan pass, so that we had reason to hope that, if we should succeed in extricating our columns from the difficulties which would beset them in Cutch Gundava, we might yet debouche into the valley of Shawl before these dilatory and vacillating Affghans had drawn together any considerable forces to oppose us.

Sir Willoughby Cotton then—having at length set forward safely on their route before him towards Burshoree, the whole of his cavalry and horse artillery, and having made arrangements for the increase of the number of wells at that place, and at Meerpore, intermediate between it and Oostar, and having five days before despatched instructions to Major Leech to cut the dam at Sebee—mounted his horse to pass the desert at 3 A.M. on the morning of the 3rd of March. Brigadier Arnold and his aide-de-camps accompanied us, and we were followed by a small escort of the 3rd light cavalry. The moon

shone brightly, and it was only when our horses were in rapid motion that we did not feel the want of our cloaks, which we had consigned to our *syces*. Between Janeedera and Rojhan we had traversed a barren country, but there, as I have intimated, the eye was refreshed by the sight of a few trees, and some little variety of bushes; but here, after a canter of a mile and a half, nothing was to be seen by a light, almost as clear as that of day, but a flat surface of sand bounded by the horizon. The ground at a distance from the slight track worn by the tread of the preceding columns, and marked with a distinctive furrow by the sappers, was tinged with white, indicating the admixture of saline particles. As on the march to Rojhan, the ground flew up in flakes with a crackling sound as it received the impress of the horses' hoofs.

We pushed on at a canter, only occasionally pulling into a walk to give breathing time to our steeds; and though all around was perfect desolation, a certain elevation was imparted to the spirits of the party by the bracing air of the morning in this healthful month, and the novelty of the wild scene. Not a plant, not a blade of grass, not a solitary herb could be discerned. The sand was not, as in some deserts, for instance that of Bekaneer, and Jessulmere, ridged

into waves by the wind. It is probably flattened by the superincumbent weight of the waters, and the moisture communicated during the rainy months; but whatever be the cause, the surface is a perfect plane without rise or inequality of any kind, and seems to declare its main power to be the simple refusal of all vegetation, and to defy the skill or industry of man to improve, or render it subservient to his purposes. Onwards our party cantered, the air growing colder and colder as daylight drew nearer. As we had turned our horses' heads from the camp, the cavalry brigadier had gaily remarked, "We shall find our coffee halfway over the desert." A part of his hearers had understood this only as a pleasantry on the nature of the region, we were about to traverse, but it was soon found to be the anticipation of an agreeable reality.

At intervals, as we had passed along, we had overtaken a string of six or seven camels laden with the baggage of officers; at intervals the trampling of our horses startled some lingering followers, who had assembled to bask, smoke, and talk of their hardships around a fire of the dung of animals. Here and there we had seen other parties of the same tribe lying at full length asleep on the cold sand, wrapt up in their blankets, and forgetting in that slumber their

laborious marches, and scant, and indifferent fare; or dreaming perhaps of the villages and bazaars, the plenty and the *tumashas* of Hindoostan; but at length we perceived a glimmering light on the imperfectly-marked road, and an assemblage of natives around it, and with the relay of fresh horses for all but myself, we found a *badee*, or swift camel half laden, and half relieved of his burden; and spread on the ground an ample collation, cold beef, cold mutton, cold game, bread, butter, and various other tempting and substantial viands, and wine of several kinds, beer, brandy, and cigars. The sickness of a servant had alone defrauded us of the promised coffee. Such are the hardships of a soldier's life in India! It may be supposed that after a ride of thirteen miles, ample justice was done to the repast, for which we were indebted to the hospitable foresight of the brigadier. After recording the circumstances of this unexpected refreshment, the mention of which is so far beneath the dignity of history, but perhaps allowable in a "personal narrative," I proceed to relate that the party mounted their second horses, and resumed their journey; and as the day dawned, and a cold north-west wind chilled them, and made me, and perhaps others, who had not like me been grilled more than fifteen

years by an Indian sun, once more regret the cloaks left behind us, we looked forward at a range of blue mountains dimly seen through the mist above the desert. This was the Brahoick chain. In every other direction all was flat and even as the surface of the ocean in a calm, nor was there during the ride of another hour and a half a trace of vegetation visible.

The sun had begun to diffuse a comfortable heat when the plain was observed to be slightly undulating, and a few bushes of the tamarisk were discerned at a distance in rows and patches. As we continued to steer on due northward, we beheld at once, both on our right and left, the often-described vision of the *mirage*; and frequently as its vanity and deception had been tested before by us on the plains of Upper India, we were even now half disposed to dispute whether it were or were not real water which we saw. Shortly after we beheld in truth a clump of trees surrounded by a mud wall garnished with towers, and on their left a double line or street of tents, a lofty flag-staff, and the British ensign flying. In a few minutes more we entered our encampment at Bushoree. I must mention, to the honour of my own Arab steed, that he carried me the whole distance from Rojhan, twenty-seven and a half miles, chiefly

at a brisk trot or canter, without betraying the slightest symptom of weariness or distress. We had halted an hour midway, and passed from camp to camp between three and eight o'clock A. M.

Under the wall of the town, or rather place of refuge from the plundering Belooches, we found the narrow-mouthed and deep pits, dignified with the name of wells, which had been sunk for the supply of the army. Sentries guarded them from all unauthorized interference, and a portion of them was left for two or three hours to fill again after being exhausted ; whilst around the others eager and squabbling troopers and followers were dragging up muddy and sandy water in leathern *dols* or buckets, and brazen *lotas* or drinking-pots, and swallowing it with the air of men imbibing nectar ; whilst *chursas*, imperfectly-tanned hides, which form a part of the equipment of carriage camels, were used as tolerable substitutes for troughs and cisterns in ministering to the wants of those animals and of horses. In the course of the evening reports came in from General Thackwell with the advance, announcing a better supply, but still no sufficiency of water at the villages and towns of Meerpore, Oostar, and Casim-kee-jhok. The pits or shafts sunk at Burshoree had now been

increased to sixty, and those at Meerpore to ninety; an improvement in the route from Shikarpore to Bhag and Dadur, which may hereafter cause many soldiers, travellers, and pilgrims, to think with gratitude of the passage of this army through Cutch Gundava, whatever may be the other results of the British expedition of 1839. The drain of Sebee was cut through on the 26th, but the stream of the Naree was found to be sluggish, and the ground, near the point where the waters escaped, so hard, and lower down, so absorbent, that it was evident from the first moment that many days must elapse before it would find its way through the artificial cuts, which were to conduct it to the neighbourhood of Burshoree, or before those, who march after us can hope to have, even so high as Meerpore, the satisfaction of hearing a rivulet murmur past their tents. This branch of the Naree, however, thus released, afterwards afforded abundant refreshment to our 4th brigade.

General Thackwell likewise gave us to understand that the Belooches had begun in earnest to make us acquainted with their talents as marauders, having carried off some of the camels and baggage of the lancers, and a few of the carriage animals of the general himself. On

reaching the little town of Meerpore we found Sir Alexander Burnes encamped in a tope under its walls. His presence almost always imparted an air of activity to our halting-places. He now brought us the news that a party of one hundred Jokranee Belooches had descended from the Hala or Brahoick range, and divided themselves into parties for the purpose of plundering and waylaying our baggage and followers. Precautionary measures for the safety of both were promptly adopted by all our columns : but on reaching Oostar on the 5th, ample proof was given us that the scouts of our negotiator had not deceived him ; for his own courier had been stopped, stripped, and eased of his despatches on the road to Bhag. Water was at Oostar, as has already been explained, for the present abundant and the green crops, though only a few inches above the ground, afforded an acceptable, though not very wholesome, supply of forage for the horses. The *ryots* were scrupulously indemnified by government for the loss occasioned to them by thus anticipating nature's bounty. At Pooleejee, a few marches to the northward of Janeedera, the Belooches have a *gurhee* or fort, from which they issue to commit their depredations, and in which they bestow their plunder. We regretted that we could not

now command leisure to diverge for the purpose of carrying extermination into the recesses of this hornet's nest.

Head-quarters were fixed, on the 6th, at Bhag, where we came up once more with the general of cavalry. At this considerable town we found water in abundance, grain in sufficient quantities to supply immediate wants, and carrots, the only garden vegetable which we had seen since we left lower Sind. These last furnished a luxurious repast to the chargers of officers. A brother of Mihrab Khan, of Kelat, resides in the town of Bhag. He is a man of the most debauched habits, and drunkenness has nearly ruined his intellects; but honouring him on account of his near relation to a potentate allied to us, Sir Willoughby Cotton courteously received his visit on the evening of the 6th, and returned it, at his residence in the town, on the morning of the 7th. Among other presents sent to the general, in return for those which he offered on the part of government, was a *suwarree* camel. We had heard much of the breed of animals of this kind in Cutch Gundava, but saw none to equal those of Upper India. Fresh instances of the audacity and success as foragers of the Belooches are now daily reported, followers are cut down and barbarously

murdered, camels carried off from our camps, and the line of march, and even the vicinity of our head-quarters insulted by the predatory inroads of these wretches.

The concentration of the cavalry brigade was completed at Bhag. Hence it is hoped that it may be able to move in a body to Dadur. We learnt here that the 1st brigade of infantry, under Brigadier Sale, had crossed the desert between Rojhan and Burshoree, without distress or difficulty, between ten P. M., on the night of the 5th, and eight A. M., on the morning of the 6th. We might, therefore, indulge in the pleasing belief that as the duty of pioneers had now been successfully performed by the vanguard of the force, the remainder of it would march, without interruption, from Shikarpore to Dadur. We saw at Bhag, for the first time, the bazaars covered over with a roof, a mode of building with which we afterwards became familiar in Afghanistan, but unknown in the provinces of British India. Head-quarters moved, on the 8th, to Muhesir, on the Bolan river. Never did the sun rise on a scene of more complete desolation than that which this part of Cutch Gundava presented to our view, when glimmering daylight first rendered the blaze of our torches no longer necessary. The tract between Rojhan

and Burshoree was not more veritably desert. The cavalry and horse artillery had preceded us by a full hour ; but we overtook in about that time their baggage and rear-guard, and a valuable escort of treasure confided to a detachment of them. There was something picturesque in the long strings of camels and the mixed and motley line of followers struggling along the sandy road over a brown and dusty plain on which nature seemed to have inscribed the doom of perpetual solitude, but which the strange concurrence of events, under which the British had entered Cutchee, had thus peopled for a season. Shortly after we beheld the dome of a large tomb, and the mud towers and houses of Mubesir. There were a few fields of green corn in the immediate precincts of the place, a spectacle refreshing to the eye, wearied as it was with the gloomy sameness of the deserts which we had been traversing.

Intelligence here reached us of Lieutenant Pottinger's having had further cause to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Yar Mahomed Khan, the Wuzeer of Herat, and it was added in the same letters that the Persians were intriguing with the Heratees, and had offered Shah Kamran the restoration of Ghorian, and a subsidy of several lakhs on condition of his

uniting with them in a league against his uncle Shah Shooja. It may be supposed that the prospect of a change of affairs beyond the Helmund, unfavourable to the British interests, did not diminish our desire to hasten our advance through the Bolan pass.

The mountains which, from Bhag, bore the appearance of a single range, excepting when the strong light of the rising or setting sun rendered visible the intervals between their successive gradations, are from Muhesir clearly scanned as forming three several walls of enclosure to the Belooche provinces immediately around Kelat. During our march of the 6th, the highest summits before us appeared to be indented like a saw. We now saw little of the higher battlements of the third range, but the second bore the character of hills, lofty though not abrupt, whilst the nearer eminences were at length close enough to be recognised in the variety of their forms, some as conical and detached, some as undulating and connected.

It is to be hoped that the peasantry of this country will not suffer from the measure unwillingly resorted to, of using the green crops for forage for our cavalry horses. Yet it is to be feared they may. It is the custom of our government to cause ready money to be paid

by the officers of the quartermaster-general's department to the *Ryots* for all damage unavoidably done to the produce of their lands by troops in their marches through the British provinces. We have not departed from this equitable usage in Beloochistan. The compensation has been most ample, and counted down in specie to the peasants whose fields have been devastated to furnish a ration for the starving chargers of our mounted force, but there is reason to apprehend that the oppression of the Belooche rulers will defeat the benevolence and justice of our own. The agents of the former have already in many instances seized upon the unfortunate *juts* or cultivators, and forced from them, even in sight of our camp, the money thus rightfully and mercifully distributed to them. The population of the flat country between Shikarpore and Bhag are a meager and deeply sunburnt race. The Belooches of Cutch Gundava, as well as those of Sinde, are men of martial appearance, wear the high hats seen in the territories of the Ameers, with curly beards and mustaches, and hair often hanging down in ringlets on their shoulders ; but the agricultural peasant is commonly a wretched being. His air and manners are indicative of timidity, poverty seems to have paralyzed equally his bodily and mental powers,

filth reigns undisturbed on his person, on his scanty and ragged clothing, and within his dwelling, whilst in his complexion and haggard countenance is read the history of the overpowering heat and pestilential air of the plains of Cutchee from April to November.

Muhesir, as has been said before, is built on the left bank of one of the branches of the Bolan or Kanhee river, which flowing in a single narrow rivulet down the pass to which it gives a name, is divided into two streams on its reaching its mouth. Of these, one pursues its course due south and nearly parallel to the Brahoick range, passing through the villages of Muhesir, Kanhee, and Bhugae, and the capital city of Gundava, below which it falls into the Naree ; the other flowing off towards the south-east joins its waters to the same river sixty miles higher up, near the hamlet of Eree, after having passed close under the walls of Dadur. The site of Muhesir is elevated. Near it the right bank of the Kanhee has generally the command, and is abrupt and shelving, the water being there deep, whilst the sinister margin is low, and the river on that side shoals. A little in advance of the town, on a retired spot in a bend of the *nulla*, our Head-quarter camp was fixed. On the plains to the eastward the tents of the cavalry brigade

were spread out, whilst one who looked westward from our flag-staff would see the several ranges of the Hala, dark and without trace of vegetation, and turning his face to the northward would perceive in prolongation of the road by which we had arrived at Muhesir, some detached hills of a sandy or clayey formation.

The march was commenced about three P. M. on the 10th. We of course set out in darkness as the sun does not in this latitude rise at this season before six. When we were enabled to dispense with the light of our torches, we found ourselves between two of the hills which we had observed to the northward the day before. They formed here a narrow pass, which was choked by a mass of led horses, camels, followers carrying *buenghees*,* doolies,† and palankeens, bullocks, mules, and asses, troopers and *suwars* guarding portions of this train, the quadrupeds roaring, neighing, bellowing, and braying, and the bipeds growling, vociferating, and abusing each other, and all struggling to get on. The hills, as we advanced, rose on either side in a perpendicular wall, in which no stone, however,

* Baskets covered with green waxed cloth, and slung in pairs across men's shoulders by means of a bamboo and multiplied strings.

† Litters for the sick, each carried by four men.

was to be discovered. It seemed to be a parapet of hardened clay, and reminded me of the only hilly boundary which I have elsewhere seen like to it, viz., the mural screen formed by nature, which he who shall sail or steam up or down the Jumna, between Allahabad and Agra, will behold on either side of him for full forty miles. As we rode forward the valley widened, and our road carried us into a deep ravine, from whence we saw again the Hala range before us, presenting for some miles a majestic front. Here we overtook the rear-guard and main body of our fine cavalry, the horses of which, improved on their two days luxury of green forage, were looking even sleek after all the dearth of water and scarcity of grass. We traversed with them a long valley, keeping the lofty mountains on our left, and a far lower range of hills on our right. In the plain between these two no green thing was to be seen excepting bushes of the wild caper, which at this season affords no sustenance to the camel, much less to horse or man. Before eight A. M. we had passed the little walled town of Noushuhra, between seven and eight miles from Dadur, and within a few hundred yards of it, in a country arid and most unpromising for cavalry, our camp was pitched. To our comfort, it was near one of those canals or

cuts dug in this part of Cutchee for the purposes of agricultural irrigation, in which a good supply of water was to be found.

In all the narratives, by which our march has been guided, Dadur has been correctly fixed as near the entrance of the pass of Bolan, or as natives call it, the *dahuni durru*, or mouth of the valley, which gives access from the plains of Cutch Gundava to the valley of Shawl; but it is to be remarked, that a force designing to penetrate in the direction indicated, will meet with a pass most defensible, and opening into a country of a most difficult character, only one hour's march from Muhesir; a thing to be noted by all future strategists who may have to move this way, unless they should be favoured, as we were, by being permitted to traverse the province without seeing an enemy able to confront them in the field. Major Leech, of the Bombay engineers, assistant to Sir Alexander Burnes, whilst employed in his mission to Cabul, in 1837, joined us here. To him is due the credit of most successfully countermining the Russian agent Vikovich, in his celebrated intrigue at Candahar; and he had since that period been employed, though, owing to the nature of the country, less felicitously, in collecting supplies in the vicinity of Sebee, Lheree, and Dadur,

towns of the north-eastern or more fruitful portion of Cutch Gundava. It will be remembered that it is of Sebee that Mr. Elphinstone records the national saying, which is however constantly applied to Dadur also.

ای خدا چون سیبی داشتی چرا دوزخ ساختی

The question imbodies rather a profane allusion to the extreme heat of these plains. As regards Dadur, we can testify from experience that it is no calumny, though we were there in the month of March. The remark may be thus translated :

“ Since Sebee, good Lord, fries poor mortals so well
Why took'st thou the trouble to fabricate hell ?”

Soon after the force reached Noushuhra, from which there is another extensive view of the mountains, it began to blow with great violence from the north-west, which is the direction of the pass Bolan. The gale increased in fury every moment, driving clouds of dust into our tents ; and it was not matter of much consolation to hear from Major Leech, that such tempests in this neighbourhood commonly last forty-eight hours. After midnight, the gusts were as fierce as if all the wrath of our enemies in Central Asia were concentrated in the breath

of this mountain wind, and poured forth at once through the gorge of the Durru. We expected every moment to see some of our canvass dwellings prostrated. The fall of a single poled tent is an unpleasant event for its tenant. Besides the inconvenience of losing the protection of a house above his head, especially in rain, it is far from improbable that the central pole in its descent may strike, and kill or maim him at the least, and even if he should escape this peril, it is difficult to imagine how he is to free himself from the overpowering weight of canvass, rope, and bamboo, included in two *kunats*, and a double *fly* even if dry, much more if wet. Timely and agile flight, therefore, seems to afford the only hope of shunning suffocation; but thus to escape is not always an easy matter, if *purdas* and *kunats* have all been strongly fastened down with pegs to keep out the inclement blast.

Having the dread of such an incident before my eyes during the storm at Noushuhra, I stationed four of the stoutest of my domestics with strict charge to hold up the wooden support of the dwelling, and having thus provided against the worst, slept or tried to sleep until the cavalry trumpets sounded. Be it remembered, that in all such cases, the danger must be espied far off and early precautions taken: for to call the

timid domestics, or followers of Hindoostan to your aid in time of actual peril, is only to add confusion to the scene; besides that no human lungs could hope to outroar the bellowing of the mountain blast. Major Leech appeared to have been quite correct in his meteoric calculation; for the same fierce wind smothered us with dust throughout our Sunday morning's march, made our bamboos, ropes, and canvass shiver like aspen-leaves during the whole of the day, and only sunk to rest towards the dawn of Monday morning.

Notwithstanding the hurlyburly of the weather, we moved at five A.M. and in less than two hours were at Dadur. We had crossed more than once on our route the Eastern branch of the Kanhee or Bolan rivulet, and now saw it flowing through a deep and rather picturesque ravine, fringed with high reeds and groves of the jujube and the neem tree (*Zizyphus jujuba* and *melia azadirachta*), under the high mud-wall of a town of one thousand houses, and perhaps four thousand inhabitants. The tomb of a native of the place, of some note and opulence, who was murdered a few years ago in the defiles of the Bolan, and the gardens which surround this monument so characteristic of a Belooche town, attract attention on approaching it from Nousuhra.

The plains around are well cultivated, and fine young crops of wheat and barley on the ground already gave us promise of a harvest which might hereafter be made available to enrich the magazines of our force. But we learnt at the same time, with feelings of painful disappointment, that all the tact, industry, colloquial command of the Persian, and local knowledge of Major Leech, had not enabled him to collect for us at Dadur supplies of grain of any importance. To the westward of the town the Brahoick mountains are seen as before in triple range. From Dadur, which is about five miles distant from their foot, they present the appearance of a denuded mass of hardened clay. Amongst the hills of the nearest line is remarked a small hut or low edifice, and behind it we now discerned with difficulty with the naked eye, but distinctly through our telescopes, a little opening, which those who knew the country assured us was no other than the gorge of that pass, so much talked of in Hindoostan during the last two years. Behold then, at length after a march of four months and two days from Kurnal, and of three months from Ferozepore, the gateway of the Bolan !

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The prompt advance of the Bengal force from Shikarpore merits special commendation. Napoleon has said that "the general who listens to the objections of his commissaries and surgeons, will never move at all;" and without disparagement to either branch of the profession adverted to in the remark, it must be acknowledged that there is in it much valuable truth. The views of the officers of these departments, with us at least, are commonly a little too partial and exclusive. They speak as if plans of campaign were wholly based on hospital returns, or calculations of rations, apart from all other considerations.

A variety of plausible arguments were used in February, 1839, in favour of a protracted halt on the right bank of the Indus. The necessity was urged of previously increasing the magazines at Shikarpore, and of allowing the corn throughout Cutch Gundava to ripen before any advance should be attempted. But, first, it was important to anticipate our foes in Affghanistan and reach the northern gorge of the Bolan pass before they could organize any effectual resistance. Secondly, as the force under the immediate command of Sir John Keane, was advancing up

the right bank of the Indus, it was advisable that one large division of the army should clear Cutch Gundava before another entered on it; for it should be remarked, that the routes of the province had at this time been very imperfectly reconnoitred, and perhaps the only fact which had been fully ascertained regarding Cutchee was, that its northern division yielded smaller means of subsistence for troops than had been originally hoped, and its southern next to nothing. It was highly inexpedient, therefore, that it should be traversed at one and the same time by the contingents of both presidencies and the army of Shah Shooja. Thirdly, the immediate advance of Sir Willoughby Cotton, thoughtlessly blamed as precipitate, secured to the *élite* of the Bengal force the undeniable advantage of passing the desert at a healthy season.

2°. It was necessary, nevertheless, that the line of communication should be preserved between the passes of the mountains of Beloochistan and the banks of the Indus. The contingent of the Shah was therefore left for some weeks at Shikarpore, whilst measures were in progress for increasing its means of transport. It was there supported by the 2nd Bengal brigade, and formed a connecting link with Bukkur, then

garrisoned by the 35th regiment N. I. An opportunity too was thus afforded of improving the discipline of the Hindoostanee army of the royal candidate for regained sovereignty, which was certainly not neglected by its officers.

3°. Let not the obstacles to the march across the plains of Cutch Gundava ever be described as trifling. The carriage animals of the Bengal force were not more than sufficient to convey an adequate supply of provisions, when first they crossed the Indus. Here a mortality commenced amongst them, of which the causes and beginning were well known; but the extent and result of which could not by anticipation be fully estimated, whilst to meet the exigences of the Shah's contingent, and of the Bombay force, which last, as has been seen, left its own presidency without any cattle at all, and had, whilst in Sind, been able to procure but few, it had become necessary to keep a reserve of three thousand camels at Shikarpore. The Bengal force had indeed a month's provisions on its carriage animals, when it reached Dadur, but with advertence to the length of the line, on which it was preparing to operate, this was a slender supply. At Bhag and Dadur, where it had expected to find much, little or nothing had been collected. The scarcity of forage and

water between Rojhan and Oostar was appalling. It was the prompt yet cautious and judicious manner, in which Sir Willoughby Cotton disseminated his force, and the persevering reconnoissances which he caused his staff officers to push in various directions, combined with the personal activity of Sir Alexander Burnes, and the intuitive knowledge which he displayed of the character both of rulers and people in Cutch Gundava, which enabled the Bengal troops to pass the desert, without serious disaster of any kind. When Shah Shooja, in his attempt to regain his empire in 1834, reached Rojhan, men and animals of his unwieldy and disorderly force were seen licking the mud to obtain one drop of moisture even in the most disgusting form, and expiring around its wells in fearful numbers. The passage of the same tract in 1839, was the triumph of European tact and forethought.

4°. At the time of our arrival at Bhag it had been proposed to government to give two lakhs of rupees annually to Mihrab Khan of Kelat, by way of binding him to us with a golden cord, and Meer Hussun Khan, his Wuzeer, who was received in durbar by Sir Willoughby Cotton on the same day, on which the return visit was paid to the Khan's brother in Bhag, not only referred to these expectations, but to certain hopes which

he also himself entertained of some peculiar marks of British favour. The general of course referred him to the envoy and minister. It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the treachery of the ruler of Beloochistan commenced ; for it is possible, that before he took a decided part against us, the predatory disposition of his subjects may have outrun the determinations of his policy ; and perhaps to their cupidity and not his perfidy, we owed the harassing attacks made on stragglers, convoys, and couriers, in our progress through Cutch Gundava. Be this as it may, these hostile efforts are not to be forgotten in forming an estimate of the difficulties of the advance from the Indus to Dadur.

CHAPTER VI.

Advance from Dadur—Sir John Keane assumes the command of the whole force—Passage of the Bolan pass—Heavy fall of rain—Main portion of the Bengal force concentrated at Siriah—Actual and apprehended scarcity—Bengal head-quarters fixed at Kwettah—Necessities of the force—Skirmishing—Sir John Keane at Beebee Nance—Encamps at Siriah—Arrives at Kwettah—Observations.

WHERE mountain warfare was to be expected, it was necessary to await the closing of our infantry columns. Meanwhile, Major Cureton, of the 16th Lancers, was selected for the duty of reconnoitring the Bolan pass from Dadur to Kwettah, the capital of the Belooche province of Shawl. His force consisted of a troop of his own regiment, and three companies of native infantry. Sir Alexander Burnes accompanied him, and the sappers and miners and engineer department following his move-

ment were directed to use every effort to improve the route. The major's daily reports, as well as those of his political associate, were perused with much interest at Dadur. That town is surrounded by a ruined wall, and the *plateau* to the westward of it, and the ravine and mountain rivulet to the southward form a military position of considerable strength, but useless to us, who had encamped on plains yet further to the southward, looking full at the mountains, which barred our passage to the land to which we had been charged to restore a king.

Whilst we thus paused, our 1st and 4th brigades were pressing on. The former crossed the desert from Rojhan to Burshoree, at night, in seven hours and twenty-three minutes, and reached Dadur on the 14th March. Sir John Keane, having surmounted the difficulties which retarded his progress at the Lukhee* pass, and advanced through Sehwan, reached Larkhanu on the 4th, on which day his fleet also anchored off Roree. Being thus placed in full communication with a portion of the Bengal force, Sir John proceeded formally to assume the command of the army of the Indus, partitioned its

* *Lukh* signifies a pass in the vernacular language of Beloo-chistan.

infantry into a Bengal and Bombay division, the one commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton, and the other by Major-general Willshire ; its cavalry, under the command of General Thackwell, being made in like manner to consist of two brigades, designated as belonging to their respective presidencies, and led by brigadiers Arnold and Scott, and the chief command of the whole of the artillery devolving upon brigadier Stevenson. The 1st, or Bengal division of infantry, continued as before to be divided into three brigades, denominated the 1st, 2nd, and 4th. A new organization was carried into effect of the 2nd, or Bombay division. Its 1st brigade was now made to consist of the 2nd, or Queen's regiment, and her Majesty's 17th foot, and was brought subsequently under the charge of brigadier Baumgardt, 2nd lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd, or Queen's, and the 1st, 5th, and 23rd regiments of Bombay native infantry formed the 2nd brigade, which was commanded by brigadier Gordon. One of these lastmentioned regiments relieved the 35th Bengal native infantry, and became the garrison of Bukkur, which had been made the grand depot of the army. The remainder of the brigade was cantoned on the heights of Sukkur.

Under these new arrangements, the general staff of each presidency was to confine itself as much as possible to the details of its own contingent; all orders extending in their application to both forces being issued by Colonel Macdonald, military secretary to Sir John Keane, who in such cases stood in the position of chief of the staff of the whole army. The two commissariats were also to be blended into one department of two branches, both of which were to be under the control of Major Parsons, the Bengal deputy commissary-general. Meanwhile the Belooches were fully sustaining their character as well-trained freebooters. Daily and hourly reports reached us of their captures and atrocities. Our dawks and couriers were intercepted, our stragglers and followers barbarously murdered, and no officer could venture to any distance from his encampment without the protection of an escort. The case of Lieutenant Fenwick, her Majesty's 13th, is selected as one out of a great number by way of illustrating the spirit, at once ferocious and dastardly, by which these marauders were animated. He was acting as quartermaster to his regiment, and on the 8th March had proceeded about two miles in advance of his corps for the purpose of marking out the ground for its encampment.

He was accompanied by a single, unarmed private, and was himself mounted upon a hill pony. A quarter of a mile before him he saw a party of marauders busily employed in stripping some camp followers. He instantly rode after them, when this gallant detachment, seven in number, fairly fled before him. A *suwar* of the irregular horse, who was moving in the same direction, aided in the pursuit; him the most active of the Belooches shot through the arm, and the robber was himself wounded in the head by Lieutenant Fenwick, the dull edge of whose weapon but ill seconded the resolution with which he had, against such odds, rescued the unfortunate stragglers. Some of this party of brigands were afterwards seized, and punished by a military tribunal.

Whilst we remained at Dadur the skies were occasionally overcast, and we became anxious observers of the weather, knowing that heavy rain might swell the Bolan stream into a torrent, sweep away perhaps our encampments, and render the defile impracticable. We felt too that we had a different task before us from that of marching down the left bank of the Indus, where each halting-place had its magazine. Not only were we now assured that no supplies had been collected at a single station within or

beyond the pass, but that the mountains could not afford either grass for our horses, or forage of any description for our camels. Nevertheless, Sir Willoughby Cotton, feeling that delay would only reduce lower our small stock of provisions, and convinced that grain to any considerable amount could not now be procured at Dadur or from Lheree, Sebee, Bhag, or that vicinage, directed on the 14th March the leading column, consisting of the horse artillery, the 2nd light cavalry, her Majesty's 13th light infantry, and the 48th regiment native infantry, to advance into the *durru*.

This movement had to be delayed one day in consequence of the desertion, in a body, of the dooly bearers of the 13th. These men, who carry the sick in Indian marches, may be reckoned amongst the most useful of the various classes of camp followers. Unfortunately they are also remarkable for contumacy and perverseness, and adopting and cherishing sentiments of causeless alarm and discontent. Those of the 13th now finding themselves on the point of entering the gorge of a defile, which their fears painted as the valley of destitution and despair, and from the closed jaws of which they thought that there would be no mode of escape to their native land, suffered

their minds to be worked up to a pitch of intolerable apprehension, and made off, in a body, in the direction of the town of Lheree, leaving the medical department to devise the means of carrying forty sick men whom they thus coolly abandoned. An active pursuit, however, and measures, at once mild and firm, brought them back to their duty, and before daylight, on the 15th, the column was put in motion. Those which followed were, like this van, composed of troops of all three arms, and due proportions of European and native soldiers were blended in each.

The staff forded by torchlight, on the 16th, the Kanhee or Bolan *nulla*, and as the day broke, a nearer view was obtained of the remains of a ruined village, one of the huts of which had so often served as a landmark to direct the eye to the opening of the defile as seen from Dadur. Passing onwards by a perfectly level but very stony road, they soon after found on both sides of them mountains of a formation which the geologists of the party pronounced to be *pudding-stone*, shutting in a valley of from four to five hundred yards in width, crossed at intervals by the stream of the Kanhee. In fording it, however, the water did not rise higher than the horses' knees. The

vale was overgrown with high reeds, but neither bush nor tree was visible. At Drubbee, where the first encampment of our sappers had been fixed, we came upon a prize for our grass-cutters in a little plain of verdant and nutritive herbage, about three hundred yards in length, and occupying the whole breadth between the hills. To these succeeded rank and waving reeds, and loose pebbles, and absolute sterility. A mile further on is an opening in the mountains, which Major Leech assured us gave access by a shorter route to Kirtah, our second halting-place.

We had moved on at a foot pace until nearly eight A. M. without seeing a living thing, excepting here and there an abandoned camel, with perhaps a *surwan*, or other follower, striving in vain to get him up, when we espied before us near a spot where the rocks assumed picturesque forms, a long string of commissariat animals, which had left camp at midnight, and wheeling to our right, found the valley in which we were to rest for the day. We had now the new task of pitching tents amongst rocks; and fixing our pegs by first driving into the sand amidst the hard round pebbles, a large iron style with a ring at the top of it. The valley was at this moment so silent, that we heard the rivulet

which we had nine times crossed during the morning, brawling over the stones in its passage; but in another hour the Durru was noisy and well peopled; for the two half-brigades had reached a point a quarter of a mile from the spot where our flag was displayed, and their tents were spread in the sun, and their pickets were posted, and their followers dispersed in vociferous parties on every side in search of grass, and fuel, and fodder for camels: and troops of these useful animals were seen pursuing their way in long lines only to meet with the disappointment of having to put up with reeds and long coarse grass, instead of the leaves and branches which they love, and of which they had found such abundance at Dadur.

Our reports from the advance yesterday, spoke of the Sirdars of Candahar having arranged all the differences which had existed between them, united their resources, and moved out of the city with a view of opposing our further progress. This, as they can advance rapidly with their bodies of irregular horse, was, as Sir A. Burnes styled it, "startling intelligence," seeing that we were yet close to the southward gorge of the pass, and had a full week's work before us in our attempts to clear the

valley. To-day letters have been received from the *ukhbar nuweesan*, intelligence writers, or secret agents at Candahar of the political department, to the same effect, but dashed with doubt. The Sirdars have been making preparations for defence, but it is not clear that these will issue in any thing but vapouring and renewed altercations.

“E’en Sunday shines no sabbath-day to us.” We were on the saddle before five A. M. The preceding evening had been fine, though sultry, and we had hoped for dry weather; but now there was a lowering darkness all around, which we feared could hardly portend good, and accordingly we had scarcely ridden on half a mile, when the rain began to descend, first in large drops, and then in a pelting shower. Ever and anon the rivulet came across our path, and by the torchlight we saw its struggling waters around our horses’ legs, as we crossed fords not exceeding from a foot and a half to two feet in depth, and perceived that the valley had narrowed to two hundred, one hundred, sixty, and fifty yards, at which distances crags were seen gloomily elevating themselves above our heads, whilst the rain dashed across them in oblique lines. The road was of the same character as

before. It lay over a plain of loose stones, amongst which tufts of grass and high reeds were the only specimens of vegetation.

The rain now fell so heavily, that it was thought necessary to send back an officer to halt at the head of the column until daylight, without the advantage of which, a mountain-stream swelled even to three feet in depth, might prove an embarrassing obstacle. The officers of our *suwaree*, who all rode without cloaks in imitation of our leader, who happened to have left his own behind, were of course drenched to the skin, and became rather colder towards the conclusion of the morning's work, than old Indians reckon on feeling in March. We crossed the Bolan stream sixteen times between Kohun Dulan and Kirtah. At one ford only we found two feet and a half of water, or something more. Reports from the vanguard had called the extreme depth three feet; but the weather had been dry, and the stream might have fallen a little since that party passed it. That amount of water would have rendered it necessary to take the ammunition-boxes off the carriages of artillery, which never in fact became requisite in this *durru*. I estimate the extreme breadth of the vale which we traversed during the earlier part of the morning at five hundred yards,

but within two miles of Kirtah, about a mile and a half from which our camp was pitched, it suddenly expanded to from three to four miles.

The Belooche chief of the village, which is at some distance from the road, came to the general's tent, and he was propitiated by a present of fifty-one rupees, and a *loongee*, and went home probably as much our friend as a plunderer by habit and education was likely to become. It is bare justice to him to mention that we afterwards heard that he had religiously abided by his pacific engagements, and caused no annoyance to any of the columns, which followed us, until the troops of one of them unjustifiably made free with the timbers of the huts in his little hamlet. This favour he repaid, as was to be expected, with prolonged rapine and outrage.

The difficulty which we had last encountered, was the lack of water; we now dreaded its superabundance. The evening was cloudy; and when night set in, we heard the rain pouring down at a piteous rate upon the *flies* of our tents. The widened plain in which we had sat down, was like the narrower valleys, one unvarying surface of pebbles and larger stones, washed down from the mountains. Not feeling

our canvass houses secure, where it was so difficult to drive their pegs home, we had recourse to the expedient often before tried, of fastening the ropes to large masses of rock, and piling stones upon them with the view of steadying them. After all precautions, our anchorage could hardly be deemed safe, as the rain continued to descend in torrents, and the wind occasionally freshened. It was a relief, when daylight reappeared, to see to our astonishment the ground all around us free from water after a fall of ten hours, so absorbent beyond all calculation had the sand proved. No visible change had been effected by the rain beyond converting a bed of dry into a valley of wet pebbles; and we rallied each other as some confessed that during the night they had fancied that they had heard a torrent roaring past the doors of the tents, and others that they had rushed out in darkness and cold to ascertain the truth. The officers at head-quarters might be in the humour to laugh at the remembrance of such a night, but it had been a more serious, and somewhat dismal matter for the pickets, sentries, and patrols of the camp, and for the guards and followers, who had proceeded in defiance of the wandering Belooches to the

next ground with our advanced tents and baggage.

Five had been fixed for the march to Beebee Nancee, but as the heavy fall had continued with little interruption until after seven, and had increased the weight of our tents to a serious amount, it seemed prudent to pause. An officer of the quartermaster-general's department rode back to ascertain to what extent the deepest ford of yesterday was swollen. The rain slackened, but the mountains on either side were concealed by curtains of rolling mist, the lower folds of which depended into the plain, and above these vapours were seen clouds of the darkest hue. Still we could not afford to lose a day, even although the river, which we knew we had once to cross in advance, should have deepened considerably. Finally, the troops were ordered to march at eight, and head-quarters were put in motion at seven.

Our progress was favoured beyond expectation; we suffered little annoyance from rain, and found the river near Beebee Nancee swollen indeed, and rushing down with great rapidity but easily fordable. Our route had lain as yesterday, and the day before, over loose stones, and up an acclivity scarcely perceptible. We had hitherto been surprised at the ease with

which we were gradually surmounting so considerable a range as the Brahoick mountains. As we advanced from Kirtah, the valley had widened to, I think, a space of not fewer than ten miles, but it will give a notion of the vagueness of such estimates, when I mention that some officers of the party guessed it at five, others as low as three. Suddenly we came upon a breach in the natural wall on our left of not more than fifteen yards in breadth. On passing through it we found ourselves in another valley not exceeding four miles in width. The mountains, between the two great outlets of the Bolan *durru*, which are said to be composed of pudding-stone, limestone, and conglomerate, closed in upon us as we approached the termination of this day's march, and near the point at which we had to cross the river, now foaming and rapid but not deep, the lofty rocks on the sinister side came down to the very edge of the stony track, and were abruptly met by their brethren on the opposite hand at the distance of perhaps three hundred yards. Thus is formed the pass of Beebee Nanee celebrated for bandit atrocities. In the face of the rocks are numerous caverns, from which doubtless the Belooche plunderers watch their opportunity of attacking ill-armed *kafilas*, and

single travellers. Our cavalry was pitched on the right bank of the rivulet, westward of the gorge; the infantry proceeded onward to their ground in a valley on the left bank, and on that side of the river also, but nearer to it, and close under the crags, which form the eastward portions of the lofty gateway, we found our own *peesh khuemu* already pitched, our flag-staff reared, and our wearied and drenched followers and sipahees drying their clothes amongst the rocks, or as individual taste dictated, seeking the refreshment of sleep, or the restorative of smoking their *goorgoorees*, after their harassing night march.

At Kirtah we had seen a considerable portion of the higher Brahoick range capped with snow. The mountains around us this morning were not thus silvered, but the air was cool and bracing as we moved on, and continued so even when the clouds broke away, and for a short hour or two we enjoyed the sunshine, which began to diminish the damp of our drenched *kunauts*. Here then we have reached our third encampment in the *durru*. Our fourth is to be fixed at Abigoom. About two miles from the road near Kirtah a tepid spring is found in the mountain-side. Near the equinox in a lofty region, we had every reason to look

for rain, and it has by no means taken us by surprise, but justly regarding its fall as one of the most unpleasing accompaniments of an Indian march, most of our party have remembered to-day not without expressions of gratitude, that we had marched from Kurnaul to Dadur almost without being subjected to the sprinkling of a shower. The irregular horse attached to the first brigade skirmished with a party of Belooche plunderers at a late hour last night between Kirtah and Kohun Dulan. Several shots were exchanged, but the irregulars had no casualties, and the darkness prevented them from ascertaining whether they inflicted any loss.

The pass of Beebee Nanee with its overhanging rocks, under which the figures of travellers and pilgrims are seen reclining, and its rushing, gurgling stream, may themselves be esteemed picturesque, although mountain and valley are alike devoid of every trace of verdure, the reeds and withered shrubs being gray not green, but the defile was seen to peculiar advantage this morning at the moment at which the 13th passed it. They halted a few moments to close up the rear of their column after crossing the *nulla*, and then advanced by bugle signal, which rung amidst the caverns and lofty peaks. They

formed, during their short pause of rest, finely-grouped figures in the mountain picture, and these soldiers with their shoes off, and trousers tucked up to the knees after fording, their bronzed countenances, and drenched and faded uniforms, recalled those ideas of active service, which a long period of inactivity in cantonments had banished.

The sky was lowering nearly throughout the day, and as the sun declined, our attention was strongly attracted towards one extremity of the valley, which opens to the view beyond the pass of Beebee Nanee. The road, which must be traversed to reach Affghanistan by the shortest line runs nearly northward, but exactly in the direction of the setting orb were seen two masses of mountain, which might truly be called grand. Just over the peak of one, and in the opening between the two, the rays of the sun were seen struggling through the dense and threatening clouds, in which another tempest seemed to be in preparation for us. The chasm which we saw thus surrounded by the terrors of a coming storm, is topographically important. It is the gorge of the lateral pass or Kotul, which leads upon Kelat. It is known by the name of the *Rood-i-buhar*, or valley of spring.

Our camp was visited by a thunder-storm about 8 P.M., the rain, though heavy, did not continue long, but about an hour after midnight, the wind was pouring down through the pass of Beebee Nanee in the same tremendous gusts, under which we had found it so difficult to keep our tents standing at Noushuhra and Dadur. Long before the signal to march, it became plain to me that my good and strong single-poled tent, built by the most superior manufacturer in India, of the best materials, would not long resist the tempest, which now howled round its canvass walls. I hastily equipped myself in readiness to turn out, and soon after I was fairly on my feet beyond the doorway, a rude blast swept upward from the restraining pegs one side of the outer *kunaut*. The air being thus admitted, it was soon seen that all the efforts of my whole establishment, eighteen in number, would not long suffice to keep the pole in its perpendicular. After prolonging the contest for some minutes I perceived that there was nothing for it, but hastening the crisis by letting all go. Down came the edifice "*by the run,*" with a sufficiently rude crash to the peril of the baggage piled beneath, and of one or two domestics caught as in a trap within the folds of *dosootee*. No serious injury

was however sustained by the crew of the dismantled vessel.

The light of torches was a luxury not to be enjoyed in such a tempest. The *suwarree* therefore waited for daylight; then mounting their horses, and facing the howling wind, the party proceeded onwards in the path, which the columns had already taken. When the shades of darkness were dispersed, we saw with pleasure that the wind had driven every cloud from the skies directly above our head. All was clear blue too over the hills on either side, though the folds of a heavy white curtain still rested on the tops of a really majestic range, which after a ride of a few minutes, we saw full before us. On the sides and tops of these mountains was visible a thick coating of snow. The air was cold, and there was a sensible elevation in the spirits of the whole party. The acclivity throughout the march of ten miles, was far more considerable than it had been since our entrance of the pass, and the road was strewn with dead and dying animals, and with baggage and portions of tents, which their owners in our advance had been compelled to abandon.

Arrived at the halting-place named Abigoom or "lost water," we were informed that the

camp of the sappers had been swept away by a torrent, which had suddenly descended from the mountains into a portion of the valley that had been quite dry when the tents were pitched on it. This accident had compelled the engineers to halt twenty-four hours, and thus increased the interval between them and Major Cureton. The thermometer at 9 P.M. stood here at 58°. At midnight despatches were received from Sir John Keane, dated Larkhanu, 5th March. Lieutenant Eastwick, assistant to Colonel Pottinger, had been appointed to the civil charge of Sinde; and was to reside generally at Bukkur, moving occasionally, however, to Shikarpore and Khyrpore. Sir John being in communication with the Shah, his contingent was about to advance through Cutch Gundava by the road previously reconnoitred by Lieutenant Moffat, and by which the Shah had returned in 1834, after his disasters at Candahar. It passes through Gundava, the capital of the province, in a line parallel to the Hala range, continues along the bank of the western branch of the Kanhee or Bolan stream, and then strikes off to Bagh and Dadur. A reconnoissance was at this time conducted by order of Sir John Keane by Captain Sidney Powell, his excellency's Persian interpreter,

some marches up the Gundava pass, which intersects the Brahoick range, and leads full on the capital of Mihrab Khan. It was judged to be impracticable for artillery, and the plan of an advance in that direction was abandoned.

We started to-day under auspicious circumstances as to weather. Though it had blown all night, the wind evidently lulled towards morning as it had done at Dadur, and we had a clear and cloudless sky during the starlight before dawn, as well as after daylight. The thermometer was at the commencement of our march at 52°, and did not rise higher in our tents than 64°. The task of the morning was to make our way up to the base of the range, which we had seen before us yesterday, and of which the summits were covered with snow. The ascent was far steeper than it had hitherto been, and though it could not be called painful to infantry or cavalry, yet to the horses of the artillery it was trying. We passed the spot which is denominated the *Qutlgah*, or place of slaughter, from the circumstance of the barbarous murder of a whole *kafila*, nor did we halt near the single date-tree on the road-side, which gives to the spot the title of "*Siri Kujoor*" or "the head of the date-tree," but moved on three

miles further to the point, where on the left of the *durru* the clear water of the Bolan stream gushes forth from its parent fountains. The halting-place is hence called "*Siri Bolan*," or the head of the Bolan or Kanhee.

A report was here received from Sir Alexander Burnes, proving that nothing is at present to be apprehended from the opposition of the Candahar rulers. Not only have they not sent a single soldier into the valleys of Shawl or Peshcen, but they have not yet even succeeded in organizing a force for the defence of Candahar. The three brothers Kohun Dil Khan, Ruheem Dil Khah, and Miher Dil Khan, have met together, and as is usual with them vapoured and talked loudly of joint contributions from their private fortunes, and powerful armaments, and concluded by quarrelling, and breaking up the conference.

We rose this morning with the arduous task before us of threading the last defiles of the Bolan, by far the most difficult of the whole. Weather, by the blessing of Providence, favoured us. Nearly all the snow had melted from the summits of the range above Siri Bolan, the skies were clear, and the fierce winds of these mountains, lulled on the 20th, had not risen again. The cold was severe at daybreak, and

even at midday the glare of the sun not overpowering. It was arranged that the baggage should be put in motion at the earliest dawn, so that the whole might reach the spot whence the columns were to debouche into the plains beyond, and pass it, before the troops could arrive at it. The soldiers' tents having thus been sent on in advance they made their morning's meal on their ground at Siri Bolan, and then awaited in the stony valley, without protection from the sun, the order to move forward, which was given at half-past twelve. The Head Quarter staff got in motion between nine and ten.

The valley at Siri Bolan runs about north-west, but above that point it bends round more to the westward. After following its course for about two miles, troops will find themselves at the mouth of a defile, which is certainly picturesque, but which a soldier must regard as a terrific obstacle. The mountains, rising on either side, confine a column of route, within a space just sufficient for its head, on a stony road, the windings of which might be defended by traverses, whilst ever so few Belooche marksmen might cause a severe loss to the best troops, by opening a fire from the lateral summits, and even unarmed peasants might do

no small damage by rolling down crags on their advancing enemies. We rode on for two hours through the narrow pass at a foot pace. Its sides wore an air of grandeur, and even of beauty ; though no vegetation is seen on them, excepting a very few stunted trees growing here and there out of the rocks with twisted roots denuded of one half of the small portion of earth, which had originally afforded them nutriment. Escaped from the sinuosities of this close defile, troops find beyond it wider space for exertion, manœuvre, and self-defence, but the valley is still hemmed in by commanding heights. At Doosan-ka-moo there was, when we passed it, a very small supply of muddy water in a reservoir on the right side of the road.

But the gorge of the Bolan is two full miles beyond this, and by it we must have debouched, if our engineers had not abridged this part of our labours by cutting with much exertion a shorter route for us into the plain up the northern face of the mountains. An old pathway had been discovered here, and it had been rendered less steep by digging down the level, and a narrow *sentier* of three feet had been widened into a road of twelve by blasting the rocks. The last explosion was heard when we

were about two miles from the spot. Still, when we reached this *sortie*, we found its ascent arduous enough to constitute a serious obstacle to the progress of camels heavily laden, and sadly jaded and worn down by long marches and scanty fodder. We were unwilling to impede their progress by availing ourselves of the new road, up which they were toiling, but scrambled up the side of the valley in its original ruggedness of feature. In effecting this the Arab horse, on which I rode, once came on his knees, but was pulled on to his feet again without mischief. The rest of our party had with more prudence dismounted. Reaching the summit we looked down upon the *Dusht-i-bee-doulut*, rendered so familiar to us by the narrative of Connolly and the map of Macartney, an extensive plain stretched out at our feet not only devoid of dwellings, without trees, without grass, but dark or rather black in its barrenness, and shut in on every side by mountains bleak and solemn, on the top of the highest of which were long streaks of snow. Yet the view might lay claim to a character of beauty, though of a peculiar kind. The hills by which the *dusht* was girded in were of striking outline, albeit condemned to perpetual sterility, and there was a majesty in the silence of the vast dead level as

the mountains cast their shadows over the dark carpet of its withered herbage. To us also, after being pent in for a week by precipices confronting each other, it was a relief to look upon a plain of any kind.

At the top of the Engineers' road the staff stationed themselves, and were busied for three hours in superintending the ascent of the cumbersome train of baggage. It was a singular, but painful sight to behold the heavy-laden camels, animals, which never feel at home but on a plain and on soft ground, toiling up this rocky steep, crowded in double and triple line, as their *surwans* pressed them on. Many sunk under their burdens, so travel-bated and outworn, that neither the imprecations nor blows of their drivers, or of the soldiers or sipahees of the baggage guards, could rouse them again until their loads were taken off their backs. Many, even when thus relieved, could not be got up, but continued to choke the road. By great exertion, however, the whole mass of baggage was brought through the *durru*, and on to the plain beyond it, before the troops had reached the gorge. Thus they were enabled to move on with the certainty that their front was free from living obstructions, and when we ourselves had ridden on to our encampment three

miles in advance upon the *dusht*, we had the pleasure of learning that the two half-brigades, and all the guns and carriages of the horse artillery had conquered the ascent, and were marching on to join us.

We discovered, as we passed over the plain, that its only herbage consisted of a low aromatic plant, the stems and higher twigs of which were dry and crackling, but the lower leaves yet green if not very succulent. We at first pronounced it to be wild thyme; but it was afterwards more generally believed by the uninitiated to be southernwood (*artemisia abrotanum*). Fortunately, though its shoots emitted a strong odour, and were pungent to the taste, our hungry camels consented in the absence of every other verdant thing to eat them, though apparently not with much relish. Arrived on the *dusht*,* we perceived that a further advance to Siriab before nightfall was impracticable, and indeed had reason to congratulate ourselves on the success of the arrangements, which had brought the first column with its baggage and artillery between daybreak and sunset from Siri Bolan fairly into the "*Unhappy Plain*." In

* This and the word put in the following page mean desert. The former is Persian; the latter, I believe, a vocable belonging to the vernacular idiom of the Brahoic Belooches.

the pass we had been disposed to murmur at the heavy falls of rain; but we now saw what good service they had done us in filling with water, muddy indeed, but most acceptable, a reservoir of clay on the *dusht* about one hundred feet in length, ten in breadth, and two and a half in depth. This was certainly a scanty supply for the troops and animals, which had now only begun to pour down from the *durru*; but hungry and thirsty men, who desired to cook, and longed to drink on any terms, felt it to be inestimable. Our camp was of course pitched near this diminutive tank, and sentries having been promptly placed over it, and every precaution taken to ensure the husbanding of its resources, it proved a blessing indeed to our Bengal columns. The troops which followed us had dry weather in the *durru*, but no water at our haltingplace, and suffered the torments of thirst, when they debouched upon the *put*.

The camp of the engineers, who had been employed to the last moment in clearing our path, was pitched near our tents, which we found ready for our reception after a day of no small labour and exposure to the sun and vicissitudes of weather. Our scientific officers warned us, that the night before, the quicksilver

had fallen on the plain to 26° . We felt the cold to be extreme, but did not experience so sudden and violent a change of temperature. As we got under canvass the thermometer was at 34° , and it had risen to 38° , when we prepared to leave our tents the next morning. The result of repeated experiments appears to be that the plain of the Dusht-i-bee-doulut is upwards of five thousand feet above the level of the sea.

A little before daylight, on the 22nd, we began to traverse the "Dusht-i-bee-doulut," or "Unhappy *desert*," as the title literally signifies. We were well pleased to see once more soft clay and sand under the feet of our horses and camels, instead of loose pebbles, or hard limestone rock. I must not here forget to mention the crimson and yellow tulips, and specimens of a peculiar kind of iris, which grow in great numbers amongst the acrid plants of this plain, and contribute to impart an air of gaiety where every thing else wears a sombre hue. The morning was bitterly cold, and we marched fifteen miles and three-quarters before we reached our halting-ground at Siriab. Our tents were, for the first time, pitched near one of those singular contrivances for the irrigation

of the country so well described in the works of Mr. Elphinstone and Lieutenant Pottinger,* and which are called in Affghanistan and Beloochistan, *kahreezes*, and in Persia, *kunats*. They may be defined to be artificial rivulets, formed by sinking a succession of wells on a gradual declivity, and letting the water from a spring-head in the neighbouring hills or mountains, together with all that which may have been found at the bottom of the several shafts, flow in one stream along the bed of a subterranean canal to a point in the plain, where it is allowed to issue. The agricultural aqueduct of the Siriab Kahreez, near which we halted this morning, afforded us a very ample supply of tolerable water.

We were now ten miles only from Kwettah, in the valley of Shawl, where the little camp of our vanguard, under Major Cureton, had been some days fixed. With him and Sir Alexander Burnes, we communicated this morning, and being now fairly established on the plains, and learning that all was tranquil in our front, we awaited at Siriab the further progress of the columns in our rear. Meanwhile the accounts from Candahar indicated that the sirdars had

* Now, Colonel Sir Henry Pottinger, Baronet.

made no forward movement; but they vain-gloriously boasted that they were able to ride in three days from their capital to Shawl, and intimated that we might expect, when least desired, a sudden and rapid visit from them and their Affghan horse.

The-half brigades under Brigadier Arnold traversed the pass like those which immediately followed head-quarters, without encountering any local difficulties or armed opposition, and without any loss of a public nature beyond that of the failure of many commissariat camels; but the destruction of the carriage-cattle of officers and men, and the consequent abandonment of tents and baggage, had been pitiable. The lancers reached Siriab on the 22nd, having completed, without a halt, the whole distance from Siri Bolan to Siriab, full twenty-eight miles. The remainder of Brigadier Arnold's force came up on the 23rd, and the 4th brigade, with which moved Major-general Nott and his divisional head-quarters, closed upon us on the 24th.

Let us look back at the pass, the whole acclivity of which the main portion of the Bengal column has been seen to surmount. The most exact calculations fix the spot on the *Put*, or *Dusht*, on which the force was en-

camped, near Siriab, at 5300 feet above the level of the sea, and this might be a few hundred feet lower than the top of the pass itself. The exertions which had brought our soldiers thither may be generally summed up by stating that each column in succession marched on the first day up a narrow but level valley, ten and a half miles to Kohun Dulan; on the second up a wider vale, eleven and a half more to Kirtah, the ascent being still scarcely perceptible, and that the acclivity, on the third day, was not found much steeper, whilst the troops imperceptibly ascended, and traversed yet broader valleys to the distance of ten miles more, until they reached the remarkable pass of Beebee Nanee. The rise was greater as the columns advanced another ten miles, whilst loftier mountains closed around them, to Abigoom; and the pull up hill had become a very serious matter for artillery-horses, as they toiled up to the picturesque spot named Siri Bolan, where are found the gushing and pellucid fountains of the Kanhee. These springs are eleven miles from Abigoom. Two more miles of the same kind of road had to be climbed up on the following day; but then our regiments and batteries plunged at once into the narrow and winding defile of ten

and a half miles, the ascent of which is, however, very gradual, and which our engineers had shortened to eight miles by cutting a well chosen route into the *dusht*, instead of leaving us to make our way by the usual road to the Munzilgah, or resting-place of trading *kafilas*. According to the above recapitulation, the whole distance from Dadur to our first encampment in the "unhappy plain," including three miles from the top of the pass to our tents on the *put*, is to be estimated at sixty-six miles. Thus, then, by tracing up the Bolan stream, through the windings of its natural valley to its source, our Bengal force had been carried from the plains of Cutch Gundava into the heart of the Brahoick range, and had passed onward at the foot of a lofty ridge, which runs transverse to that barrier up to the high tableland of the *dusht*, and near to the opening of the valley of Shawl.

We had passed the great mountain ridge, which appeared to fence us out from Affghanistan. Difficulties of another nature now beset our path. It has been related that we had not more than one month's provision in hand when we reached Dadur. There, and in the country around, we had collected next to nothing; at Kwettah we had the promise of very little; and, as our instructions prohibited

our advancing for the present beyond that point, we could not hope to get hold of the resources of the valleys of Coochlak and Peshing, which were represented to be eminently productive. A painful crisis, therefore, appeared to be approaching. More than half a month had elapsed, and no source presented itself from which fresh supplies could be derived. Our depots of Bukkur and Shikarpore were now separated from us by the whole breadth of the dangerous tract of Cutch Gundava, as well as the depth of the mountain range, and we well knew that before the contingent of the Shah, and the Bombay force, could prosecute their advance they must not only draw largely on the supplies in our rear, but absorb a great proportion of the means of transport, which might otherwise have been employed to bring up successive convoys of provisions to Dadur, and the vale of Shawl.

It was when the clouds of difficulty began thus thickly to gather around us, and the timorous already fancied that they heard the breakers of destruction ahead, that our thoughts turned towards our professed ally, Mihrab Khan. It was asserted by his subjects that he had collected all the grain and camels from the provinces immediately around his capital, and stored and parked them within its walls. Up

to this period he had generally been profuse in professions of the most amicable character, and whatever suspicions had been generated by the recent conduct of his nominal dependants, the predatory Belooches, no actual proof of personal alienation from our interests had yet been adduced against him. Sir Alexander Burnes appeared to entertain the opinion that he would be found disposed to aid us to the extent of his power. The time had at all events arrived, when our necessities would afford a sufficient test of his sincerity. On the 24th of March our negotiator, accompanied by Lieutenant Simpson, an active officer of the commissariat department, took his departure from Siriab for Kelat. Sir Alexander Burnes had hitherto set out on all his expeditions followed by the cordial good wishes of the whole force; it will be supposed that his success was never more earnestly desired than on the commencement of his present journey.

We were detained one day longer at Siriab than we had proposed, whilst our engineers completed the bridging of some troublesome *nullas* near Kwettah, and otherwise improved the route. Whilst we remained on the margin of the extensive Kahreez on this flat, covered with aromatic herbs, blended with tulips and

irises, shut in by a considerable range of hills on either side, and boasting only a few patches of wheat and barley, produced by means of the artificial irrigation of the line of wells in our front, not fewer than four dawks, which had escaped by good fortune from the predatory tribes which infested our rear, reached our head-quarters in one day. There was a large envelope amongst the rest, which afforded ocular proof of the state of our communications. It was thoroughly soaked in human gore, and bore this superscription in the hand of one of our deputy postmasters. "The *suwar*, who carried this packet, was shot dead within two marches of Shah Shooja's camp, and the envelope is stained with his blood." An interval of a week without any intelligence from the British provinces, or even from Shikarpore or Cutch Gundava, to which we were of course looking at this period with peculiar solicitude, had ceased to be a matter of wonder in our camp. Whilst at Siriab our reports also taught us to apprehend a hostile attack on the part of the governor of Shawl upon the small force under Major Cureton. His post was reinforced, but no attempt was made upon it, though an unfriendly feeling was manifested by the inhabitants and their ruler towards our troops.

Finally, on the 27th of March, Head Quarters, the cavalry and the first brigade of infantry moved up to the town of Kwettah or Kwote. The columns marched a little before daylight. The morning was cold and frosty, and we found the plain much intersected by water-courses, fed from the Kahreezes, which are here numerous. For seven miles we were traversing the *dusht* in all its barrenness, but as we moved lower down the plain, we saw before us clumps and enclosures of deciduous trees, amongst which we recognised the poplar, the mulberry, the plum, the apricot, and the peach, the three latter covered with foliage and blossom. This was a refreshing sight to those who had wandered so long over the deserts and steril plains, and amidst bare as well as rugged mountains. The town of Kwettah is surrounded by a mud wall of about twelve hundred yards in circumference, which shuts in a few narrow streets of houses of the same material. On these the dwelling of the governor looks down from the top of a natural mound of earth centrally situated, which forms the citadel or keep of the fortifications. There are four gates in the *enceinte*, the pediment of one of which is decorated with deer's horns, a custom which we had before remarked at Dadur. The valley

in the immediate vicinity of the town is crossed by several rapid Kahreez streams, which turn flour-mills at no great distance, and beyond those water-courses is a rising ground, on which Major Cureton's camp was pitched. It does not constitute a position; but the *plateau* is sufficiently elevated to give a commanding view of the country around it, and in case of attack in the direction of Pesheen, the major, who was no novice in these matters, would have retired by the gate immediately behind him into the town, the walls and citadel of which he would long have defended with his handful of infantry.

The first intelligence which reached us, on arriving at our encamping-ground, was the substance of the report of Major Leech, which gave us to understand that, after some negotiations, the authorities in Kwettah had agreed to cause the shops, which had hitherto been closed, to be opened for the sale of corn at an unvarying rate during our stay in the valley. But the comfortless information was subjoined that all the grain which the town contained, could not be estimated at more than two days' supply for the force now encamped under its walls. The major's agents had, up to this time, also been wholly unsuccessful in their efforts to procure

us subsistence from the vale of Pesheen, or from Moostoong, a large town on the route from Kwettah to Kelat. This was not a promising state of things. Already the gaunt spectre, famine, was in truth staring us in the face. Yet even whilst so painful a crisis was approaching, we could not refuse the tribute of our admiration to the localities of Kwettah, or deny that its site was in some respects superb. The range of mountains, which has for many miles formed the eastern boundary of the Dusht, terminates beyond Kwettah in a peak, that rises full five thousand feet above a plain ascertained to be itself little less than five thousand three hundred feet above the level of the ocean. Beyond it, inclining to the northward, is a lower range, from which a remarkable detached mountain is struck off. In this are two Kotuls, of one of which more will be said hereafter. Still further to the northward, and full in view of him who turns his back on Kwettah, is a yet grander line, the distinctive feature of which is a huge bifurcated mount. Its peaks cannot be fewer than six thousand feet above the valley. This lofty eminence is by Affghan and Belooche named Tukatoo.

Kwettah itself stands at the northern extremity of the *Dusht*. The more fertile valley of

Shawl, to which it belongs, is seen stretching out to the westward, having the Tukatoo line of mountain for its northern boundary, whilst a far lower chain of hills defines it to the westward. They wear away gradually towards the south. Amongst their eminences is seen with the naked eye from Kwettah, the little Kotul or pass, which leads to the valley and town of Koochlak, and forms the direct route to Candahar. Macartney, whose accuracy we have generally had cause to admire, has erred in placing Koochlak to the eastward instead of the westward of Tukatoo, and Tassin has delineated Tukatoo itself as a detached, insulated mount, whereas it is the crowning eminence of an extensive range. The former topographer, never having extended his personal researches into Beloochistan, must have trusted entirely to native reports, from which he has certainly extracted a surprising amount of information. Tassin may be supposed to have had little to guide him here in his late useful compilation, but the map of Macartney, and such incidental notices of the country as he might have gleaned from the journal of Lieutenant Connolly.

The brigades of Arnold and Sale were disposed in something like a military position on the slope at the head of the valley of Shawl, the

cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left. The right of the line formed by these troops stretched out towards the chain and peaks of Tukatoo, of which, however, it fell short by some miles; whilst the left rested on ground much intersected by water-courses and low walls, by which alone it was separated from the ramparts of Kwettah. The fortifications of the place were therefore in fact the *appui* of this flank. The valley in front of the force is not very well cultivated, although numerous and extensive Kahreezees supply it with very sufficient means of irrigation. It produces, however, only some trifling crops of wheat and barley. The camel-thorn indeed springs up in considerable abundance on as much of the ground as is left waste, and this in the course of another month will become nutritious. The camp overlooks the whole vale, and in advance of our line of encampment was a mound, the value of which would have been acknowledged, if it had become necessary to establish an extended chain of distant outposts in the direction of Koochlak. The front and left of the position might therefore be deemed pretty secure, but besides that its right needed support, it was compromised and menaced in reverse by the two Kotuls, which have been described as ex-

isting in the lower range to the northward of Kwettah.

The valley of Shawl and its vicinage claims to be reckoned a favoured and promising region, whether we consider its own superior elevation, the grand and striking outline of the mountains around it, its numerous and pellucid streams, the evident fertility of its soil, or the apparent salubrity of its climate. We, who have lately seen the quicksilver at 94° at noon in Cutch Gundava, are now braced by the healthful cold of the morning, the thermometer standing at 34° a little before sunrise, and not rising beyond 64° during any part of the day in our tents. We have on this spot too some of the productions of Europe, to the sight of which many of us have been for a succession of years entire strangers. The poplars and fruit-trees have been already noticed, as have the tulips and irises of the *dusht*, which are also to be found close to Kwettah. In addition to these our botanists have discovered a wild anemone in the plains, and the butter-cup and dandelion in the mountains. One of our sportsmen has shot a woodcock in the copse near Major Cureton's camp of observation ; larks are to be seen in flocks around the town, and saluted us with their morning carols as we marched down from

the *put*, and white linnets flutter about amongst the low bushes of the valley of Shawl. *Assa-fœtida* also grows on the *dusht*, whilst the vale to the northward produces, besides wheat and barley, rice and the small vetch called *moong* (*mungo phaseolus*); but no *chunna* or gram. The harvest of last year had here, as nearly throughout Hindoostan, been scanty, and it seems now to be ascertained beyond dispute, that of the little-grain grown in the Belooche provinces adjacent to the caital, a large proportion had been forcibly collected, and stored up by Mihrab Khan. Despatches from Sir Alexander Burnes at Moostoong have already acquainted us that he had found in that place no food either for man or beast. He expected to reach Kelat on the 28th of March.

On the 25th Major Craigie, deputy-adjutant-general of the Bengal force, proceeded on a confidential mission to the head-quarters of Sir John Keane. It was supposed that he would find them at Dadur; but the continued interruption of our dawk communications had left us at this critical period in doubt even as to that fact. The major was charged to represent to his Excellency the state and prospects of the advanced force as regarded rations for the troops, and forage for the cavalry horses. He

was instructed to point out that Kwettah and the country around it could only furnish the most scanty supplies ; whilst many days must elapse before any large convoy could reach us from the rear. The army, if it marched forthwith, could not arrive at Candahar in fewer than from fifteen to twenty marches ; so that if it found itself under its walls in the shortest space of time which could be anticipated on any reasonable calculation, not more than two or three days' provisions would then remain unconsumed of its present stock. A longer delay at Kwettah would of course only aggravate the evil. Day by day our stores are diminished, and if we move later, we shall march so much the worse supplied ; whilst our hesitation may give time to the rulers of Candahar, to devastate Pesheen, and the tract between the Khoja Amran and the western capital. After making these and other weighty communications, the major was directed to request his Excellency's specific instructions regarding the course to be pursued. During his absence, the horizon grew darker and darker. Mutton, indeed, was abundant in a country which is full of fine flocks of broad-tailed sheep, called from that peculiarity in their animal structure *doombas*, or tail-bearers ; neither was there any lack of bullocks in our camps.

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But *ottah** had risen, during our protracted stay at Kwettah, to the enormous price of two, and one and a half seers (four and three pounds English) for the rupee. There was a corresponding scarcity of condiments for the native troops, and *ghee* was sold at an exorbitant rate. Neither rice nor any other vegetable substitute for flour was to be procured on any terms.

It was clear, that under such circumstances, a sacrifice must be made, and the consumption diminished, or a crisis must soon arrive which it was frightful to contemplate. Accordingly, from the 28th March, the loaf of the European soldiers was diminished in weight, the native troops received only half instead of a full seer of *ottah per diem* and the camp followers, who had hitherto found it difficult to subsist on half a seer, were of necessity reduced to the *famine* allowance of a quarter of a seer. This was a painful measure; but the promptitude and decision with which it was adopted, certainly saved the army from the alternatives of starvation in their position, or unspeakably disastrous retreat upon their depots. The privation was most deeply felt by the followers. They did not

* Wheaten flour prepared in a particular way. Another form of it is called *mueda*. The coarser kinds of grain are much mixed with the *ottah* used by the lower order of natives.

murmur, but the countenances of these famishing men expressed suffering and dreadful apprehension; and if, when halted, this indispensable regulation seemed to crush them to the earth, how was it to be expected that they could bear up under it upon the resumption of our march?

Accounts at this time reached us from the pass of a desperate conflict between a party of irregular horse and a band of plunderers. The affair had been a fight, hand to hand, with sabres, spears, and *tulwars*. The robbers were repulsed; but the fury of their onset, and the gallantry of the irregulars, is proved by the fact, that out of a detachment of eighteen men, one, the son of its Duffadar, was killed, and every other *suwar* composing it, wounded. The native officers estimated the Belooches at two hundred. This is probably an exaggeration; but it is remarkable, that of six troopers of the 3rd light cavalry present in this little action, not one received a scratch. The attack was made by moonlight.

Whilst we were anxiously looking towards our rear for direction and succour, the news reached us that Shah Shooja, though he had a kingdom at stake, had been so mindful of the duties of a good Mussulman, as to halt at Bagh

to observe the solemnities of the Moohurum. This act of devotion on the part of the monarch, delayed three days the progress of the head quarters of Sir John Keane. By diligent search, about four hundred maunds of secreted grain were found at this period in the town of Kwettah, and hopes were entertained of obtaining more in the villages of the valley. Meanwhile the effects of insufficient food are beginning to be plainly perceptible in the attenuated visages and shrunken limbs of our native soldiers and followers.

In describing the position in front of Kwettah, mention was made of two kotuls, or passes, in the range of mountains eastward of Tukatoo, by which a hostile force might debouche upon our right and right rear. As no enemy was expected in that direction, and none indeed was known to be near us at all, these inlets had never been reconnoitred, nor had pickets been posted at their gorges. Instead of these more regular measures of prevention, Major Leech had urged the governor of Kwettah to send out a party of his armed followers as a guard for our camels, whilst grazing near the most eastern of these openings.

It so happened, however, that a violent animosity had existed for some time between this

petty Belooche ruler, and the Qazée of the town : and the latter, a mischievous intriguer, had by way of compromising his superior with the British, contrived to get the irregular picket withdrawn from the mouth of the defile, and had encouraged a band of Kakur freebooters to attack the carriage animals of our force. About ten A. M. on the 31st, the alarm was given that a body of armed men had made an irruption into the plain, and succeeded in carrying off above forty camels of the commissariat. A strong company of the 48th native infantry and a party of twenty-five troopers of the 2nd light cavalry, were ordered up to the rescue. General Thackwell and his staff rode with them. The detachment had to proceed four miles and a half over a stony road before it reached the gorge of the pass. The Kakurs had conducted their foray well. The most nimble of them had been employed to drive their prey hastily with the points of their spears up the valley, and as soon as the British reached the pass, they found the robbers' rear-guard posted amongst the rocks on either hand, evidently with the intention of giving time for the safe retreat of their comrades with their plunder. As the detachment came on, the Kakurs opened a steady fire upon them. Two small parties of

sipahees were immediately directed to climb up and assail the heights on either flank, whilst a third body pushed on to force its way up the *durru*. This last was led by Lieutenant Hasell, adjutant of the 48th regiment, whose cap had been pierced by a ball, when the Kakurs first opened their fire. The sipahees displayed activity and boldness, and quickly drove the marauders from their post; but this show of organized opposition, the nature of the ground, and the assurances of the Belooche followers of the Governor of Kwettah, that the Kakurs, if pursued, would retire into a village in the mountains, which they described as strong, induced General Thackwell to send his adjutant-general to the camp for a reinforcement.

Five companies of the 13th, and a troop of light cavalry quickly got under arms, and before they were in motion across the plains, Sir Willoughby Cotton, accompanied by Major Cureton, had pressed on into the *durru*. The pursuit was thus continued by the two generals and the small parties of both arms, after the Kakurs gave way, full five miles through a strong defile, the greater portion of the narrow strip of level ground in the valley, consisting of the stony bed of a rivulet, over which lofty mountains frowned on either side. But at

length all traces of the camels were lost; and as the active forayers had wholly disappeared, it was judged to be vain to follow further the windings of the deserted pass. An order was sent to halt the reinforcements, and as the original detachment retired towards the camp, it found them, the cavalry, dismounted, and the infantry resting with piled arms, at a point, where the *durru* branched into two valleys. A considerable village being observed about a mile and a half up the northernmost of these vales, a reconnoissance was conducted by Major Cureton into that hollow, whilst the rest of the force and suite returned towards their camp, a little chagrined at the issue of the adventure. The major found the hamlet wholly untenanted, and it was evident that the inhabitants had recently fled. He described the valley as beautiful, its more favoured nooks being embellished with fruit-trees, and enlivened by springs of pellucid water gushing from the mountain sides. A company of the 13th, another of native infantry, and a troop of light cavalry, were directed to encamp in the gorge, and observe thenceforth this pass, which bears the name of the Ana Durru.

At length on the 1st April, despatches were received from Sir John Keane, dated Beebee

Nanee, 31st March, regretting the unavoidable delays which had retarded his advance, but expressing a hope that his head-quarters would be fixed at Siriab on the 4th of the following month. Major Craigie was then in his Excellency's camp, and sent us the first intimation of the calamitous loss of a great quantity of valuable supplies, whilst in progress through the Bolan pass with our field commissariat. The escort had been overpowered by a party of three hundred marauders, into whose hands this rich booty had fallen. Such an event in the present state of our supplies and expectations, is indeed untoward and vexatious.

On the 2nd April a communication from Sir Alexander Burnes made known to us the important fact of his having at length succeeded in inducing the Khan of Kelat to become a party to a treaty, by which he has bound himself to furnish supplies of grain and camels to our force, and to pay a visit of homage to Shah Shooja on the monarch's arrival in Shawl. On these conditions, and that of nominal allegiance to the future head of the Dooranee empire, the British negotiator, on the part of his government, had guaranteed to Mihrab Khan the sovereignty of Beloochistan, and the full command of its revenues. The Belooche, moreover,

stipulated that an officer of rank should be sent to conduct him to Kwettah. Sir Alexander Burnes described this ruler to be a man of no ordinary shrewdness and vigour of mind, and to have been actuated during the conferences by a lively curiosity respecting the British, their institutions, government, and political objects in Asia. He was loud in his censures of the proceedings of Shah Shooja. He professed to disapprove highly of the nature and composition of his army.

“He ought,” said the Belooche politician, “to have trusted to the Affghans to restore him to his throne; whereas he is essaying to deluge the land with Hindoostanees, an insult which his own people will never forgive him. This will never do. You English may keep him by main force for a time on the musnud; but as soon as you leave the kingdom, your Shah Shooja will be driven beyond its frontiers. He will never be able to resist the storm of national and religious animosity, which is already raised against him in the breasts of the Affghans.”

Notwithstanding the signature of the treaty, it seems exceedingly doubtful whether either grain or camels will be obtained from the Kelat territories. Until the negotiations were closed, the Belooche government would not even per-

mit the officers of the mission to purchase corn for their own animals in the capital. The companions of Sir Alexander Burnes's journey considered the city and fort of Kelat wholly indefensible, and were of opinion that a sense of this weakness, and a dread of a hostile visit from a corps of our force had alone induced Mhrab Khan to affix his seal to the convention. They have no expectation that he will fulfil a single article of it. They are confident that he is influenced by the persuasion that we shall ultimately fail in our enterprize, and that, congratulating himself on having by temporizing measures shunned the impending evil of the occupation of his capital, he will stand prepared in case of our meeting with any check to fall with the whole forces of his dominion upon our rear and communications. Lieutenant Simpson entertained no doubt that both grain and camels were concealed at Moostoong, Mungochur, and Nooshky, as well as at Kelat, but feared that the intrigues of the Belooche governors would too successfully baffle our most active endeavours to gain possession of them; and that the game which was played against Sir John Keane's force in Lower Sinde, would be renewed to our mortification and serious injury in Beloochistan.

The detachment, which observes the gorge of the pass of Ana Durru, has not been permitted to remain quiescent there. Towards the evening of the 2nd of April, {a strong party of Kakurs carried off some of the camels of the troops employed in this duty, which they had imprudently sent up the valley to graze.* A few troopers of the 3rd light cavalry pursued the marauders for a distance of eight miles. At last the Kakurs, perceiving that the cavalry had gained upon them, took to the sides of the mountain, and opened a fire. The *suwars* returned it with their pistols, and riding up the steep and slippery eminences, used their sabres with some effect. Three of the brigands were killed, and five, all of them wounded, brought prisoners into our encampment.

Major Craigie returned on the morning of the 3rd of April from his hasty and hazardous excursion to the southern gorge of the Bolan pass. Leaving Kwettah on the evening of the 25th of March, he had reached Dadur on the morning of the 28th, where he found the monarch, the commander-in-chief, and the British envoy and minister all under canvass. The Shah had with him four infantry battalions, and upwards of five hundred cavalry, whilst his Excellency was escorted by a squadron and a half of the 1st

Bombay light cavalry and a wing of the 19th native infantry. The united camps of the king, the general-in-chief, and the minister, displayed all the pomp and circumstance of a triple head-quarter. The whole will reach Siriab on the 4th, whither the Bengal staff will repair to welcome them to the plains of *Cisalpine* Beloochistan.

Sir Willoughby Cotton, accompanied by his personal staff, and some of the departmental officers of the Bengal force, rode towards Siriab between nine and ten o'clock A. M. on the 4th of April, in expectation of finding the headquarters of Sir John Keane, as well as the camps of the Shah and the British minister already fixed there. Excessively heavy rain had fallen during the preceding night, and the cold had been severe; but as we proceeded into the upper valley, and onward over the *dusht*, the weather became more promising, and it was pleasing to exiles of many years from their native land once more to witness the progress of an English spring. The trees, which we had found bare and leafless on the 26th of March, were now green with budding foliage, and this change and the growth of the crops, and the sparkling of the streams from

the Kahreezes, and in the water-courses swelled by the rain, gave, as the sun gleamed forth through the clouds, and the mists began to roll away from the tops of the mountains, a cheerful and exhilarating aspect to the vale. Passing through the camps of our 4th brigade and parc, we saw beyond them a line of slowly rising smoke, which issued from a spot a mile and a half in advance of that, on which we had ourselves halted three days. Sir John Keane, and Mr. Macnaghten had arrived on the ground shortly before. Shah Shooja had made the whole march from Siri Bolan to Siriab, the day before, and had been established within his crimson *Kunats* since the evening of the 3rd. He was too much fatigued by the exertion of this long day's work to be able to give audience to any one. Cordial greeting was interchanged between the commander-in-chief, with whom we were now put in personal communication, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, they two having met before in various climes, and several of the officers of the Bengal and Bombay staffs were made known to each other, fully purposing to encounter together the further difficulties of the crisis with the sentiment of comrades and brethren in arms. These ceremonies being concluded, the Bengal staff proceeded to welcome

the envoy and minister to a place of temporary repose after the fatigues of the Bolan Pass.

His Excellency had yesterday at his camp on the *dusht* resorted to a vigorous measure to check the system of marauding, by which the force had been so long harassed. Ten delinquents had been captured in the act of plundering, and one of them recognised as a brigand who had been guilty of a similar outrage, attended with desperate violence in the pass. Sir John Keane, full proof having been adduced, caused the whole to be summarily shot to death by a party of light cavalry. Another culprit had, as we arrived on the *pnt*, been placed in confinement, and a gibbet erected on a gentle rise in the plain, from which he was to be suspended as soon as the property, which he had stolen, should be identified. It is only by the force of severe examples and the salutary terror produced by prompt executions, that such freebooters as the Belooches, Kakurs, and other marauders of these plains and mountains, as well as the hardened wretches who creep into large camps, and follow the line of the marches of Indian armies, can be taught to respect persons and property.

It is well known that the natives both of Hindoostan and Affghanistan, referring to many

passages in Shah Shooja's life, have adopted the notion that he is a man of evil destiny, a *kum museeb*, or *bud bukht*, as they would phrase it. Since, however, he has been patronized by the British, they have admitted, with a reserve as to the former prevalence of his evil genius, the possibility of his prospering in his present enterprise, through the influence of our good fortune, which they esteem transcendent. An incident occurred at Dadur, which seems likely to give rise to fresh foreboding as to his success. Several Affghans of distinction had sought the royal tents whilst he was at Shikarpore, and with difficulty obtained access to him. To Englishmen he is ever kind and condescending, but his warmest admirers seem to fear that the haughty coldness of his manner towards his former subjects, will freeze his friends into enemies. All the Affghans, to whom he gave audience at Shikarpore, complained, whether justly or not, of this more than kingly pride.

“We have traversed,” said they, “the valleys of our native land, and threaded the passes of the Belooche mountains, which guard them, to kiss his footstool; but he has sent us back with aching hearts as well as bleeding feet, without even a kind look, much less a

promise, to feed upon." Few or none therefore rallied round his standard during his progress over the plains of Cutch Gundava. But at Dadur, an Affghan of character and influence did come in with his retinue and adherents. Unfortunately, however, he forgot in his zeal, or had never heard of, the jealous precautions, with which camps under British influence are guarded. He rode after dark at a rapid pace in upon the pickets, was challenged, either did not hear, or from inadvertency or ignorance of the Hindoostanee language, failed to answer, was mistaken for an enemy, and cut down by the *vedettes* of the Shah's cavalry.

At length we are made fully aware that we must look for grain in some other direction than Kelat or the towns of its ruler. Sir Alexander Burnes has finally written from Moostoong that there not more than one thousand maunds can be obtained. The officers of his mission again complain that they can with difficulty procure corn for their own horses, and the wretched inhabitants along their line of route are sustaining life upon roots and grasses. Mihrab Khan makes no effort to relieve our necessities, and the only difference of opinion regarding his conduct seems now to be as to whether it is the result of inability or unwilling-

ness to fulfil the main stipulation of the convention to which he has affixed his seal. But whether malevolence closes his magazines against us, or they are indeed as empty as his agents pretend, it would be folly to suffer ourselves any longer to be deluded with the hope of drawing any adequate supplies from his provinces.

A reply has been received to a secret overture made by our diplomatists to Ruheem Dil Khan, the second brother of that Barukzye triumvirate which has usurped the rule at Candahar. It is replete with mendacity and meanness. It sets out with a false and blustering account of the preparations for war at the western capital, and affects to describe in glowing colours the religious excitement of all classes. The Barukzye asserts that the holy standard of the prophet had been brought down into the streets, and that the people had unanimously sworn to defend it against the unbelieving *Feringees*, with whom Shah Shooja had impiously leagued himself. The epistle concludes in a strain, which seems to leave no doubt that this brother of Futtih Khan, like other patriots, has his price, though it is likely to be exorbitant if left to his own fixing. "You offer me," says he, "an establishment for myself and

family ; but how am I any longer to restrain an enthusiastic people ? Be explicit and tell me exactly what it is you propose to do, and be speedy, or the inhabitants of Candahar will soon have escaped from my hand, and cease to be guided by me."

Two conflicts with marauders took place on the 4th and 5th of April, in the plains to the north westward of Kwettah, only a few hundred yards in advance of our encampment. The plunderers were in both instances worsted. In the first affair Cornet Toone, of the 2d Light Cavalry, cut down and decapitated with his own hand the leader of the gang of depredators, and in the second Lieutenant Yule, of the 16th Lancers, forced a village, from which the brigands kept up a sustained fire. A prisoner, through whose body two pistol bullets had passed in the latter skirmish, yet survived finally to expiate his offences by being hanged up to one of the trees in the large grove under the walls of Kwettah. The people in the vale, as well as the Kakurs in the mountains, have been excited to their recent acts of pillage and violence by the mischievous arts of the Qazee whose misunderstanding with the governor of the town has been before noticed.

The morning of the 6th was appointed for

the arrival of Sir John Keane in our camp, personally to assume the command, and fix his head-quarters at Kwettah. He left Siriab about daylight, and was met by Sir Willoughby Cotton and his suite near the orchards in the environs of the town. Two hours had not elapsed from the time of his entering our camp under the salute due to his rank, when the heads of departments were summoned to Sir Willoughby Cotton's tent, in which his Excellency had breakfasted, and every arrangement concluded for conducting further operations. The 4th brigade and parc marched up from the *dusht*, and were posted in second line, and orders issued for the movement of the cavalry, and 1st brigade with head-quarters on the 7th. At ten o'clock renewed peals of ordnance announced the arrival of Shah Shooja.

Every where in our lines is again seen the bustle of preparation for resumed advance, and in the excitement of the prospect of being once more in motion, and the hope of soon seeing the western capital of Affghanistan, the troops seem happily to have forgotten the appalling difficulty of supplying their necessities up to its walls. The arrangements of the 4th of March relative to the new organization of the army, of course come in full force from this

day. Sir Willoughby Cotton assumes the command of the 1st division of infantry, and General Nott returns to that of the 2nd brigade. The latter will for the present remain in charge of the important place of arms of Kwettah, which is already garrisoned by the 43rd regiment of native infantry at present in advance of the general's other two corps. By his brigade the important service will be performed of holding the northern outlet of the Bolan, observing Kelat, and keeping up the communication with Shikarpore, and our depôts and posts on the Indus.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The promptitude of the advance of the Bengal column from Dadur to Kwettah led to most important consequences as regarded the great issues of the plan of invasion. It took the vacillating, disunited, and irresolute Sirdars of Candahar by surprise, and even the wily Belooche, Mirab Khan, always in his heart, it is to be feared, disaffected to the authors of the enterprise, had no time to organize any measures of resistance or annoyance, until a powerful force was already in possession of the town of Kwettah, and within a few miles of his capital. It compelled him therefore still to dissemble.

Nevertheless the risk of this march was not inconsiderable, for as the whole of the intermediate country was in fact hostile, though nominally allied, and all supplies were withheld by a series of the basest intrigues, the force was reduced to formidable straits for want of provisions, and would have suffered dreadful privations, if its halt at Kwettah had been prolonged many days more.

2°. The two brigades of infantry, and one of cavalry with the effective artillery, siege train, and engineer department of the Bengal force might with safety have advanced without delay from Kwettah to Candahar, so far as the opposition of the Candahar Affghans was concerned, and such a course, however venturous, would have been far more in accordance with the desires of the force, than lingering nearly a fortnight on the *dusht*, and in the valley of Shawl, and daily consuming in inactivity their scanty supplies; but Sir Willoughby Cotton was bound by his instructions not to advance a step beyond Kwettah, and this mandate was based on very sufficient reasons, military and political. First, it would have been unsafe to have exposed the left flank to Kelat, and the efforts of its insidious ruler, until the arrival of fresh forces should have rendered it possible to

post a body of troops in observation at Kwettah. Secondly, it was rightly deemed expedient that the British armament should not cross the frontiers of Affghanistan until it could be accompanied by the monarch whom it marched to restore. We desired to show the Affghans, that we did not enter their territories in the character of conquerors, but solely for the purpose of reinstating the legitimate sovereign of the Suddozye race on that throne, which, in a season of confusion, thirty years before, the brethren of the Barukzye Wuzeer, Futih Khan, had succeeded in usurping.

3°. The patience, with which for upwards of three months and a half the native soldiers and mustered followers of the Bengal force bore their privations, when their ration was reduced a full moiety, and in truth did not suffice to satisfy the cravings of hunger, ought ever to be remembered to their credit by the government which they were serving. At Kwettah that course of severe endurance began; and let it not be forgotten that it required some moral courage to announce in that encampment to the Sipahce, already suffering from the suppressed pangs of a *nostalgia*, to which, owing to constitutional temperament and the prejudices of national superstition, he is peculiarly subject,

that he must henceforth part with his remaining comforts, and contrive to support existence, and perform his arduous duties, upon an allowance of food barely sufficient to preserve him from starvation. But the case of urgency was like that of Bligh of the *Bounty* in his bark on the wide Pacific, and the prompt adoption of a sumptuary regulation, grievous, but just because necessary, saved the force from the horrors of actual famine, or the ignominy of retreat, and enabled it to aid in obtaining triumphant possession of Candahar and Cabool; and as Sir Willoughby Cotton cheerfully loaded himself with the responsibility of the measure, so his must now be the praise.

4°. The perfidy of Mihrab Khan was sufficiently apparent before the force left Kwettah. In utter contempt of the provisions of the treaty to which he had set his seal, he did nothing to provide for the wants of the British army, and seems to have manifested little disposition to pay the promised visit of homage, and professed fealty to Shah Shooja, as the titular superior of Beloochistan. But his treachery and contumacy extended much farther than to these negative neglects and misprisions, and I have been altogether misled, if the British government be not in possession of the most

convincing proofs of his having issued instructions to his subordinate rulers to commence and persevere in that system of organized rapine and outrage, by which our posts and columns were harassed from the northern gorge of the Bolan to Curachie, wherever in fact the supremacy and influence of this deceiver were acknowledged. More recently, despatches* are said to have been seized upon his agents, the purport of which was to stimulate the Ameers of Sind to unite with him in acts of future aggression against the force of that British government which he had dared to insult with a profession of alliance. It is to be feared that those versatile and insincere rulers lent too ready an ear to his suggestions. These things could not be kept secret, and therefore it excited surprise during the progress of our

* It is the custom of Asiatic rulers to stamp public papers in ink with a signet bearing their names and titles, instead of affixing their autographs, as is the practice in Europe. A large impression in wax is also appended by a silken thread to the envelopes of muslin and *Kumkharab* (brocade). The documents adverted to in the text bore the impression of the seal of Mihrab Khan. A remarkable flaw was observed in this on a close inspection of the papers, and Sir Alexander Burnes, when he visited Kelat in March, 1839, had noticed a corresponding defect in the signet of the Belooche ruler. This circumstance may be regarded as a singular collateral proof that the papers were genuine.

army into Affghanistan, that the power of this genuine Belooche had not at once been annihilated by moving a column upon his capital through the Moona pass from Gundava, or later from the valley of Shawl, by Moostoong. But our government evinced its sagacity by continuing to temporize, conniving for a season at the perfidious policy of this specious enemy, and enduring his provocations, cautiously, at the same time observing him from the strong and important post of Kwettah, where a major-general commanded, and reserving our strength and resources for the main objects of the expedition. At length when the Dooranee empire had been re-established by our efforts, it was announced that "the measure of the iniquity of the Amorites was full," and as this remark is committed to paper, the Bombay force is marching toward Kelat-i-Nusseer, charged with the task of the punishment and deposition of this worthy head of the most lawless and depraved people in Asia.

5° "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmities;" but this internal support is denied to the brute creation. Thus, whilst the resolution and patriotism of European and native soldiers upheld their fainting strength, and induced them to receive contentedly and cheerfully "their

curtailed rations," the loss of their gram and fodder ruined the horses of our cavalry, and their artillery, and this valuable arm of the Bengal force might be considered as all but paralysed from the last week of March to the beginning of June.

CHAPTER VII.

March to Koochlak—New order of encampment—Loss and low condition of cavalry horses—Repulse of Belooches in an attack upon Lieutenant Palmer's convoy—Passage of the Kozuk—The camp of the Shah Shooja at head quarters near Chummun—His indisposition—Defection of Hajee Khan Kakur—Cavalry pushed on to Tukhti Pool on the Dooree—Shah Shooja enters Candahar—British army encamped under its walls—Observations.

THE march of the cavalry, and 1st brigade of infantry from Kwettah, commenced at five A.M. on Sunday, the 7th of March. Sir John Keane and the general staff, with whom rode Sir Willoughby Cotton, now followed by the more modest *suwarree* of a divisional commander, left their tents before the troops were off the ground. We were at length to bid farewell to the majestic peaks of Tukatoo, after a sojourn of eleven days, during which we had them constantly in view. The mist of the morning was

dissipated, and the full extent of the valley of Shawl displayed, as the columns, and their prolonged train of baggage, descended the slope of our position. Reports had reached us the day before of the Kotul, towards which we were directing our course, being defended ; but a reconnoissance, conducted by Major Garden, had proved these rumours to be groundless. He found the coast clear. The vale of Shawl, at one end of which stands Kwettah, is bounded on the eastward by a prolongation of one of the mountain ranges of Sewestan, on the westward by another chain, which stretches down from Chihiltun on the *dusht*, and on the north by those eminences of which the peaks of Tukatoo are the most prominent feature. The right of this line of mountain is nearly met by the left of a succession of lower hills, the direction of which is about north-west. Through the gap between the two barriers our route lay ; and when we had reached the bottom of the valley of Shawl, and not before, the eye recognised the fact of our having a gradual acclivity of a mile and a half to climb before we could reach the opening. As we pressed up the stony road, some parties of Kakurs, under the Tukatoo range, silently observed us from a distance. Arrived at the brow of the hill before us, as the

shoulder of the mountain overhung us on our right, we dipped at once down a steep and picturesque Kotul, full one thousand feet into the valley of Koochlak.

Whilst we were descending step by step, the appearance of the undulating level at our feet was that of an uncultivated waste of red clay ; but a nearer view showed us fields of flourishing young wheat and barley checquering the fallow land in the plain, and by the road side was springing up not only the camel thorn, but a species of hyacinth, which grows also in smaller quantities on the *dusht*, together with the friends of our youth, the dandelion, the daisy (the same species which abounds in the Himalaya), clover, trefoil, lucerne in profusion, and a kind of spear grass, which some of us had never looked upon since we left merry England, and now recognised with something like emotion. The mud hamlet of Koochlak was wholly deserted. The inhabitants had fled at our approach, and no grain was to be discovered in their habitations. A considerable body of them had migrated to the foot of the mountains, which divide this vale from that of Shawl, and were encamped at a very cautious distance under the tents of black felt, described by Lieutenant Conolly in his journal.

The commander-in-chief pitched under a hil-

lock, near which were aligned the Bombay cavalry and infantry of his escort. Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had been requested to keep near to head-quarters, will henceforth find his place at the head of a separate street, consisting of the tents of his personal and divisional staff;* whilst the Bengal departments form by themselves a third double line. A little *nulla* separated our camp from a grove of mulberry trees, on which the fruit was already formed, although the leaves were only beginning to burst forth. Under the imperfect shade of these, our late morning repast was finished. Koochlak is a Belooche valley; we have not yet, therefore, crossed the openly hostile frontier, but, being so near it, have deemed it prudent to discard the luxury of advanced tents. The whole of our camp equipage and baggage, therefore, moves in the rear of the columns, and we must consequently reckon on waiting long every morning without shelter from a sun which will daily increase in power. The temperature is already much higher since we descended the Kotul from Shawl. The troops of Shah Shooja, for the present, move consecu-

* This order of encampment was not actually observed on the march to Koochlak, but was gradually adopted after a few days progress from Kwettah.

tively with our force, after an interval of two or three hours.

The columns moved at the same hour, and in the same order as yesterday, and their line of route was over plains of clay and sand, intersected by deep ravines, and twice by two several branches of the Siriab river, called by the inhabitants (who speak little but Pushtoo) "Lora," which, it appears, is their generic name for a stream. Our view to the southward was still bounded by lofty mountains, whilst lower ranges of hill divided into a succession of valleys the space which we traversed from Koochlak to Hyderzye. Here we fixed our camp on the 8th, and found two large villages of mud huts substantially built. Every man, woman, and child, excepting a few Syuds, or descendants of the prophet, who, doubtless, considered their hereditary sanctity their safeguard, had fled before we came up. The cottages contained large vats of basket work for the reception of corn, which were surrounded, and defended, by an outer coating of clay; but all were empty. Through the intervention, however, of the Syuds, a small number of the males of the place were persuaded to return, and an inconsiderable quantity of barley was purchased, partly by the commissariat, and

partly by individual officers, who eagerly bought it up for their horses and half-famished followers.

The wants of the force may now, indeed, be described as pressing. The cavalry horses are dying in considerable numbers, and the condition of those which survive is too low for the rapid movement, long sustained, which would be required of them before an active enemy. It is difficult also to conceive how the camp followers can bear up under the exertions of a march, and the supervening labours of their various offices, without any other sustenance than the allowance of a quarter of a seer, half a pound English, of *ottah* per diem. A hungry native of Hindoostan will devour a whole seer for his daily meal, and, as the bazars furnish scarcely any thing in the way of vegetable or condiment, to eke out the scanty pittance issued from the government stores to this class, their trials at this period are indeed painful. Our horses were this day favoured in having come into the neighbourhood of some fields of lucerne, and other artificial grasses, which, with a few acres of wheat not yet spindled, were appropriated, under proper regulations, for their sustenance. We are now in the fief of one of the Sirdars of Candahar ; before us is the valley of Pesheen.

Our descent was more apparent to-day than yesterday. The hills, which subdivided the plains, were tamer, and the flats over which we marched, after being covered for some miles as the day before, with the hyacinth, iris, tulip, poppy, dandelion, and camomile, were afterwards seen to be overgrown only with the *khar-i-shootur*, and the aromatic herbs of the *put*. As we approached our encamping ground, we beheld before us a continued succession of large mud villages stretching on towards the foot of a chain of mountains. These are the hills designated in all our maps, from that of Macartney down to the late compilation of Tassin, by the name of Khoju Amran. The inhabitants of the district, however, do not know them by this title. In these heights our guides pointed out the direction of the passes of Kozuk, Roghanee, and a third further to the eastward called Surzab. On our right, on the extensive plain, we have a lofty village, defensible against any attack without artillery; and beyond it, in the same direction, but not visible even through our telescopes, is the town of Alizye. The villages before us contain the promised stores of Pesheen. As the last harvest was scanty, and the people have evidently secreted or carried off their grain, it cannot be hoped that the com-

missariat will obtain a large supply. Neither money nor research, however, will be spared. The weather continues delightful. The temperature is indeed higher than on the *dusht*, but we have still the enjoyment of a clear invigorating atmosphere in our early marches, and though the sun is oppressive in that interval, which we have commonly to pass in the open air, between our arrival at our halting-places at about eight A.M., and the coming up of our tents at ten or eleven; yet no sooner are our canvass dwellings reared than all is cool and comfortable within. By day, woollen clothes, from head to foot, are not found burdensome, and the cold of the night would not be tolerable without the aid of English blankets, or the stuffed quilts of Hindoostan.

We have long been counting with impatience the days until we might hope to hear something of the near approach of a convoy in charge of Lieutenant Palmer, recently appointed to the commissariat. To-day the unpleasant intelligence has been conveyed to us of his having lost eight hundred camels since he crossed the Indus, from fatigue and indifferent forage. This has compelled him to abandon a large portion of his valuable supplies. He has brought up to the *dusht* only two thousand maunds, or

one hundred and sixty thousand pounds English, of ottah, and does not hope to be able to reach Candahar before the 26th of April. He has, moreover, been already compelled to fight for all which he may succeed in conveying to us. Between Kirtah and Beebee Nanee, his escort of two companies of the 35th regiment native infantry was suddenly attacked by a body of Belooches, the strength of which was estimated at three hundred men. The plunderers fired a volley, and then rushed on sword in hand. But the conduct of the sipahees was cool and determined. They repulsed the assailants by a steady fire, who fled, leaving thirteen dead on the field. As their wounded would probably bear the usual proportion to this ascertained loss, it may be supposed that they had not fewer than fifty *hors de combat*. On Lieutenant Palmer's side a havildar and a sipahee were killed, and five sipahees wounded. He himself received a flesh wound from a ball in the leg.

Sir Alexander Burnes and Lieutenant Simpson have rejoined our camp on their return from Kelat, bringing with them promises and little else. After the insolent delays, and more than equivocal conduct of Mihrab Khan, in several respects, Shah Shooja has very properly inter-

dicted his visit of ceremony ; and little doubt now remains that a day of reckoning with him will surely, if late, arrive. His capital is described by the officers who have seen it to be a miserable town, and they have formed a very low estimate indeed of the strength of its defences.

When the columns left their ground near Hykulzye this morning, it was hoped that they would have reached, in between four and five hours, Urumbee, near Kila Abdoolah Khan, calculated to be between fourteen and fifteen miles distant. Nothing was known of any obstacle in the seemingly plane valley of Peshcen, which could delay the troops in their progress up to the foot of the Khoju Amran range ; but after advancing only seven miles, they found that they had to ford another branch of one of the loras, or mountain streams, which water these plains. It was, though rapid, not above two feet in depth ; but both banks were precipitous, and it was not possible to approach the one or get clear of the other, excepting by means of narrow pathways through deep ravines, which the engineers were labouring to convert into practicable roads. The troops indeed defiled, and forded rapidly, but it was necessary that the twelve guns of the two batteries should

be drawn, by European and native soldiers harnessed to the drag-ropes, along a narrow gallery without a parapet, on the edge of a sheer descent of fifty feet. Thence they were eased down an abrupt declivity to the margin of the river, brought through its turbid waters, and again pulled up a traversing ascent recently cut in the right bank into the green plains beyond.

When this was with much labour accomplished, there remained on the left bank a dense mass of camels and other animals, laden with the tents and baggage of head-quarters, and of the two brigades, all of which had to be singly ushered through the only gap of entrance, along the giddy platform, then down to, across, and up from the stream, into the verdant level beyond. The heat was beginning to be felt oppressively, and the *surwans* of a large string of the camels, becoming impatient of waiting for their turn, and of the slow progress of the animals before them through the authorized pass, under the auspices of the baggage-master, diverged to the left, and gained, after a *détour*, the right bank by another ford lower down the stream. But they too had to scramble over difficult and slippery ravines, into which many animals with their loads fell, and were with difficulty got upon their legs again. The cavalry

was pushed forward to Urumbee, but there was no alternative after the protracted delays of the morning, but fixing the head-quarters, and halting the infantry on the margin of the Lora. The troops of Shah Shooja encamped on the left bank, and in the evening a communication from Mr. Macnaghten warned us of his having received information that the Uchikzyes, a predatory tribe located within, and at the foot of the Khoja Amran range, meditated an attack upon us at night, or *shub-khoon*, as it is called in Persian. Numbers of these people had been selling grain and camels in our camp during the day, both to individual officers and the commissariat, and one of them had urgently entreated to be allowed to leave in deposit at the commissary-general's tent, a large sum which he had realized by his traffic. It was thought improbable, therefore, that his *ooloos*, or tribe, entertained serious thoughts of attacking us. Nevertheless, every proper precaution was taken against nocturnal surprise, in addition to the ample arrangements for the protection of our camps, which formed part of our daily routine of duty. The night, however, wore away without any thing being seen or heard of a belligerent Uchikzye.

The *shubkhoon* is a favourite device of the

military art of the several Affghan and Belooche tribes, as well as of the Persians. When it is executed on the great scale, a large body of horse is silently collected and led furtively up to the enemy's camp. The whole then attack with a wild *hurra* the front flank, or rear, as may have been ordered, the point which is least guarded being usually chosen. Each horseman follows the impulse of his own individual bravery, or love of plunder, and cuts down, spears, or captures every man or quadruped before him. Onward the assailants rush in their confused and headlong course, and having done their work of destruction, and secured as much booty as they can, all gallop through the encampment, pass out of it by the opposite side, and re-form at a safe distance from their opponents. It is not to be denied, that an untutored and irregular force may, by an attack of this kind, cause their enemy, if they find him unprepared and lulled in a false security, a greater loss at a cheaper rate than by any other mode of assault; but there is reason to think, that the largest body of the untrained belligerents of this valley, after being received on the first onset by a sharp fire from a chain of sentries, promptly supported by their pickets steadily formed, and relying on the aid of a line

as rapidly arrayed as was the British force at the time of the false alarm on the Indus, would soon find ample cause to condemn as romantic all future schemes of enacting the drama of a *shubkhood* in the presence of so uncompromising an audience as the present invaders of Afghanistan.

The 1st brigade and head-quarters united themselves to the cavalry, by marching over, on the morning of the 11th of April, eight miles more of the valley of Pesheen, which but for the interposition of the untried asperities of the Lora, would have been traversed the day before. The thermometer stood at 48° at five A. M., and cloaks and thick leather gloves were acknowledged as kind friends up to the moment of our dismounting at our new ground. The spot was gladdened and refreshed by a tiny rill of chrysal water, rushing down with excessive rapidity through its narrow channel in the green sward from the low mountain line of the Khoja Amran in our front. Our road had lain over grass fields, and across ravines less rugged than those of the preceding march, and for the first time since we left Cutch Gundava, we saw around our path thickets of the tamarisk. This march has brought us near to the gorge of the Kozuk. The opening is seen between the hills

about two miles from our camp, and as we look around, the green plains of Pishing are developed in their aspect of comparative fertility, dotted with mud hamlets, and shut in on two sides by a bend of the Khoja Amran, a waving line of hill without tree or shrub, and bounded to the southward by an offset of the mountains which inclose and subdivide Sewestan, the crest of which is even now, in the middle of April, covered with snow, apparently to a considerable depth.

The scarcity of grain has, at length, produced effects the most deplorable amongst the horses of our Bengal brigade of cavalry. One hundred and sixteen have died since the 6th instant, and the majority of those which survive, are too weak for their outpost duties, in addition to the fatigue of daily marches. Unless we find in Candahar both grain and repose, this cavalry, which left our provinces and crossed the Indus in such splendid order, seems to be in danger of being wholly dismounted. The condition of its horses was first lowered by the deficiency of water and scarcity of grass, or any of its substitutes in Cutch Gundava. The march through the Bolan was harassing, and then in the valley of Shawl the poor animals were brought down at once from a ration of five seers to one and a

half. For grain, their usual food, first *jooara*, and then barley, wheat and Indian corn have been substituted in small quantities; and during the last ten days these unfortunate steeds have not enjoyed the luxury of any regular ration, however low. To supply this painful deficiency, they have here, as in Cutchee, occasionally been permitted to graze over the fields of green corn, due compensation being made to the owners for the injury. But this indulgence has not materially improved their condition, and some indeed are of opinion that the purgative quality of such forage always diminishes the strength and activity of horses.

When we came to our ground this morning, we were informed that Brigadier Arnold, armed, but unaccompanied by troops, had ridden forward into the Kozuk pass. He returned in the evening, and related that he had suddenly, whilst moving on leisurely with Captain Sanders of the engineers, met with a gay and well-mounted body of Asiatic cavaliers, who fired two matchlock shots at him and his companion. The brigadier and his friend prudently retired, without returning the compliment, to the sappers' camp, which is established about half-way through the defile. Brigadier Arnold does not dissemble the difficulties of the route. He

assures us that it runs for a considerable distance through a stream, which flows over hard and slippery rocks. On these the camels can hardly be expected to keep their feet, and the defile is so narrow, that if a single gun should stick fast in it, the progress of the whole force would be arrested. The engineers will doubtless plane down many difficulties before the columns attempt the passage; but it would appear to be most expedient to reconnoitre both the Roghanee pass, to which, however, the peasantry give even a worse character, and a third further to our left, called by the inhabitants "*Sung-i-soofued*," or the "White stone." The last is said to be a prolongation of the route which runs through the halting-place of the Goolistan Kahreez, and is described as far less precipitous than either of the other two passes; in fact, as comparatively easy. It is right, however, to add, that a want of water is apprehended in that direction. As a lateral march of a few miles would conduct us to the mouth of this third *débouché*, it were to be wished that these promises of a less arduous passage could be fairly tested, before we brave the ascertained asperities of the Kozuk. That defile will be reconnoitred by the commander-in-chief in person to-morrow.

Head-quarters and the 1st brigade moved yet lower down the valley of Pesheen on the 12th, and after advancing over only seven and a half miles, pitched their tents between the green hills which form the gorge of the Kozuk. The commander-in-chief, Sir Willoughby Cotton, and their two staffs began to ride rapidly up the *durru* about half past nine. They overtook some baggage of the 16th native infantry, and from an officer who accompanied it, learnt that a considerable body of men, whom he found occupying the hill on either side, had just retired before his escort. For six miles and a half up to the point at which the camp of the sappers was fixed, the character of the valley is undeviating. The acclivity is easy, and the stony road runs evenly between hills, which are coated with grass and herbs. They are not, however, decorated with trees, though a few, which have attained to a considerable height and girth, are seen in the level below. Its width may be six hundred yards. The formation of the eminences is said to be sand-stone and mica slate.

From the engineer encampment strikes off to the left the defile, which Brigadier Arnold had rightly described as presenting formidable difficulties. Our scientific engineers had wisely de-

terminated not to meet these in front. We found a traversing road already constructed, which led us to the right of the route over the bed of the mountain rivulet. It wound, so the skill of Captain Thomson and his coadjutors had chosen the direction of its zigzags, first to the eastward, then to the westward, and again towards the north. On either side were growing, if not here in profusion, at least in beauty, the tulips of the *dusht*, a more attractive species of iris than any we had seen on that strange desert, abundance of wild rhubarb, which under the name of *ruwash* the inhabitants eat with avidity, several flowers with bulbous roots, to us mere soldiers unknown by name, a variety of ferns, and a beautiful flowering shrub which, without botanical knowledge, I can only describe as reminding me of the beauty of the almond-tree in blossom. When we had mastered the first painful ascent, we found ourselves at the point where the new road and the original pathway, through the bed of the *nulla*, meet. We crossed the stream just where a beautiful spring wells forth from the mountain-side.

As we paused here a few minutes, the commander-in-chief honoured the chrystal and pellucid water of this fountain by drinking a small portion of it out of a silver cup having first

infused into it a few drops of *eau-de-vie*. The party then began to ascend again. Two more steep acclivities separated by a narrow valley had to be conquered, before we found ourselves at the summit of the pass. Hence we looked down upon a winding road through a narrow *ghat*. Beyond it was descried an extensive plain, not unlike that of Pisheen. It was filled with mist, although the sharp wind of the mountain kept all serene around us; but upon its surface we could trace villages, and considerable spots of cultivation. We could also see even with the unassisted eye that this level was intersected by another range of lower hills, and through intervals between portions of them, we beheld a long continuation of the plain, and in the extreme distance discovered with the telescope two little eminences, which some of the inhabitants, from whom information on other points had been obtained, boldly affirmed to be immediately in front of Candahar. They were certainly not fewer than forty miles distant from us. Our party thought, and spoke of the sensations of Shah Shooja, when he should again reach this point, and obtain once more from it a view of the vicinage of his western capital. Contemplating the Kozuk as a military obstacle, we felt that in the ascent of a mile and

a half from the sappers' camp there would be found a fearful trial of strength and energy, when it should become necessary to draw up our two field batteries and our siege train. It is clear that this can only be done by the application of manual power to the drag-ropes, and the same means must be used to ease the cannon down into the edge of the plains below.

A detachment of Bombay light cavalry met the commander-in-chief on his return to camp, and escorted him back to it. We had traversed about half the distance between the sappers' tents and our own, when a piercing cry for help was heard from some *surwans* whose camels were browsing on the hills and in the valleys on the eastern side of the *durru*. The escort instantly gave chase, led by some of the youngest and most active of the staff, and over the heights, which a moment before were mute and still, were seen dashing in headlong haste full fifty steeds and riders. Onward they galloped over every inequality of ground: but no plunderers were taken or seen, and when at last the party reined up in a valley, and on the sides of an almost precipitous ascent, a *surwan* confessed that one thief only had come down upon his party, and caused the outcry. Some others talked loudly of having counted a body of thirty

brigands; but the former was evidently the true story. Another solitary robber at midnight was not so fortunate. He was shot by a sentry of the pickets of the 13th, whilst creeping down towards the camp, from the hills which formed its *appui*.

Head-quarters halted on their ground in the gorge of the Kozuk, on the 13th, orders having been sent to the engineers, whose camp is guarded by the 16th native infantry, to establish themselves in the valley towards Candahar in the course of the day. The cavalry brigade joined us here this morning. One day's repose is acceptable, before looking in the face the labours of the Kozuk. The 4th brigade and siege train left Kwettah on the 9th, and may be at the difficult passage of the Lora this day. The villagers of Pesheen are bringing in considerable supplies of wheat, which has fallen in price to-day from two to four seers (four to eight pounds) the rupee. They also offer for sale ponies and camels, green rhubarb, and lucerne grass, fowls, and *doomba* sheep. These last having at Kwettah been liberally purchased by officers for their starving retainers, rose there in value from one to six rupees per head. Necessity has compelled thousands of Hindoos in our camps to overcome their distaste for animal

food, and to support life upon the mutton of the country, which, fed chiefly upon mountain grass, is fat and well-flavoured, as well as abundant.

The camp of the sappers was fixed, on the 13th, four miles beyond the northward base of the Kozuk, at a hamlet called Chummun, where the engineer officers had found water, and a good position. On the 14th, Brigadier Sale's brigade moved onwards at three A. M., and the cavalry was directed to follow it at one P. M., with the view of both effecting the passage within twenty-four hours. The commander-in-chief set out in person at five A. M., and about eight he and his staff pushed their horses up the last steeps amidst the crush of loaded animals, and reached the point which two days before had bounded the reconnoissance. Here a small tent, called a *bee-choba*, was pitched for his Excellency; and hence he superintended and watched the progress of the arduous work which remained to be completed. When the 13th light infantry had halted on the summit, they piled their arms, stript off their coats, and, in the form of strong fatigue parties, commenced the work of dragging up the guns. Their toils, and those of the native soldiers of the brigade, who vied with the Europeans in activity and

zeal, were prolonged under a hot sun until between three and four p. m. But at the very commencement of their efforts, Sir John Keane saw that the passage of the cavalry in the same day was impracticable, and orders were sent to halt them until the 15th.

On the southern slopes and summits of the mountain a keen breeze was felt, but in the descent into the valley the heat was excessive. Not only did each soldier, as he laboured, sensibly perceive that every step which he took brought him down into a warmer region; but the refraction of the solar rays from the rocks, which peeped out on every side, bare and glittering from beneath their covering of grass and herbs, rendered the glare overpowering. Here indeed we for the first time during our prolonged progresses, saw a mountain-side clothed with trees. But they were in size commonly dwarfish, and afforded little protection from the sun. This was a day to be remembered as truly harassing. Let it be borne in mind that the distance from camp to camp was full twelve miles. These the troops had to march, and though six of these were up a gentle acclivity, two were up and two down again most abrupt and precipitous steeps, and two more down a milder descent. Up and down these laborious

acclivities and declivities a battery of six nine pounders with its carriages had to be dragged by dint of manual labour, where neither horses nor camels could for a moment have kept their footing if harnessed to their accustomed draught. This was no child's play ; but a severe trial of strength, health, and perseverance. This artillery, however, with its ponderous concomitants, ordinary and spare, was brought, without a single accident down into the valley. But the baggage of head-quarters, and of the brigade, and all the stores of the commissariat had yet to be got over the mountain, along a road which, for the space of four miles, admitted only one animal at a time. Every exertion was used to preserve order, but some loaded camels were precipitated over the rocks in their own efforts, or those of their drivers, to break the single line, and many fell out wearied. It became necessary, in order to prevent the advance of those which came after from being checked, to push these poor beasts with their loads into the lateral ravines.

The troops of the column had cleared the Kozuk by four P. M. : and whilst they remained in the pass nothing had to be encountered but the natural obstacles of the place, but baggage animals and their drivers and followers continued to file over the mountain range after dusk,

throughout the night, and after the next morning's dawn, and when the main body of the troops had descended into the plains, the Uchikzyes, creeping forth from dens and hollows, made their appearance on the heights, armed with matchlocks and swords, fired upon the rear-guard, attacked and stript helpless followers, and captured and carried off loaded camels or plundered them of their loads. A great portion of the brigade passed the night without tents, but the camps were all regularly formed, and well guarded, on the slopes four miles below the crest of the mountain. It happened that the gentler declivities of Chummun formed secure positions. The thermometer stood here at nightfall at 60° , so that bivouacking was not so rigorous as it would have been in the southern gorge, or on the summit of the mountain pass. The carols of numerous larks amongst the camel-thorn and aromatic herbs were heard before the reveille of our bugles the next morning. Even at that coolest time the quicksilver was at 74° .

The thermometer rose to 86° in the shade before 10 A.M. on the 15th. Not more than half of the labour of the 1st brigade was complete, for their baggage yet crowded the mountain. Nevertheless, the cavalry moved from their ground at the same hour at which the

infantry had preceded them on the 14th. They got over the pass with their artillery in the course of a day, halted at night at the mountain's foot, and marched on the next morning in search of more abundant water and better forage, twelve miles over the plains, encamping at Dundi Goolae in pastures irrigated by a small mountain rill. The fracture of the wheel of a single howitzer was the only untoward incident which they had to deplore during the passage of the range. A *shootur suwar* in the employment of the envoy and minister, was shot by the Uchikzyes in the defile on the 13th.

On the 16th the camp of the Shah was fixed near Chummun, and it was expected that the siege train would reach the southern gorge of the Kozuk on the 17th, escorted by the 4th brigade, when on its troops, and those of the 1st, which will be marched back from their position for that purpose, will devolve the arduous task of forcing the ponderous guns and mortars up and down the steeps of Khoju Amran. On the northern slopes of the range, and for several miles in advance, there are neither villages nor peasantry to be seen. No supplies of grain, camels, or ponies can here be obtained as in the valley of Pesheen ; and,

whilst the followers of the army are enduring frightful privations, our officers have lost tents, baggage, and carriage animals in the Kozuk pass to a greater amount than on any one day in the *durru* of Bolan.

The Uchikzyes have played their part with as much dexterity and boldness as the Jokranes Belooches in Cutch Gundava, or the Kakurs, Marees or Muzarees on the confines of the *dusht*, Shawl, or Koocklak. These strange marauders have already been seen in their valleys decked out in clothes made up of the showy chintzes which line our Bengal tents. It is not any party or patriotic principle which induces these people to attack us. They plunder simply that they may live. It is clear, therefore, that the only measure by which their hostility could be effectually neutralized would be the plan that has been adopted with so much success in various parts of Hindoostan, of taking the hereditary freebooters of predatory districts into the pay of government, and organizing them in corps for the protection of the country which they and their ancestors have been wont to desolate. Our detention in the unproductive and deserted country at the foot of the Khoju Amran increases of course our difficulties as to subsistence; but we are supported by hope, for

when once our force is concentrated on the plains, and the siege train shall have been parked upon in our rear, we calculate on being enabled to advance to Candahar in seven marches, and on compelling its chiefs either to seek safety in flight, or to acknowledge their lawful sovereign, and accept the terms which the government is yet disposed to keep open to them.

It has been known several days that the party of horsemen which Brigadier Arnold encountered in the Kozuk, was headed by Meer Ufzul Khan, a relative of the Barukzye triumvirate of Candahar. He had been despatched by them to reconnoitre and defend the passage: but the Afghan leader, after scanning from a lofty height our several brigades in progress through the valley of Pesheen, and meeting the outposts of our engineers in the defile, returned in dismay, and reported to his government, as has been proved by intercepted letters, and the statements of prisoners, that the *Feringees* had already mastered the Khoju Amran, and that nothing could be done to arrest their progress.

Mine is the narrative of a soldier not of a naturalist; but as I have occasionally spoken of shrubs, flowers, and birds, as they have attracted attention in our marches, so I ought not

to forget to notice the large black *scaribæi* which are seen in numbers amongst the aromatic herbs of the *dusht*, and of all the valleys which intervene between it and the slopes of Khoju Amran. Their size, strength, and dexterity in boring little caverns in the earth for dwelling-places, and conveying to them their stores, has excited the admiration of those who can do nothing towards assigning them a place in a system.

Last night, his majesty Shah Shooja was sufficiently indisposed to render it necessary to bleed him; but a little after six this morning, he was seen again in his gilded litter in the midst of his troops on his route to the rivulet on the plains. The envoy, and minister, and one of his assistants, accompanied the column of the contingent which had been defiling down the slopes since daylight; and an hour had not elapsed when an Affghan, mounted on a *yaboo* (pony), arrived in haste bearing a note from Major Leech to Mr. Macnaghten. As he had already passed on, and the bearer of the missive asserted that he had intelligence of the utmost importance to communicate, he was summoned to the presence of the commander-in-chief. This scout declared roundly that the Candahar chiefs had collected seven thousand men for the defence of their city. He intimated, that Kohun Dil Khan

remained at the head of these forces, in reserve near his capital, whilst the sirdars, Meer Ufzul Khan and Hajee Khan Kakur had been detached on a secret expedition at the head of two thousand men. He added, that no one knew the route which these chieftains had taken; but that it was believed that the object of their forced march was a *chupawul*, or attack by surprise on some of our brigades. Further, the messenger related, that Moohummud Hajee Khan, the sirdar of Gurmseer, was moving towards the capital with fourteen thousand men under his banners.

Much stress was laid in the course of this man's narrative on the rapidity of the incursions of the Affghan horse, and according to him, we might expect at any moment the forces of Meer Ufzul Khan, or Hajee Khan Kakur on either flank, or in the rear of any of our camps. At the moment that these statements were made, our 1st brigade had not above one hundred men in its lines with its battery, the rest being employed four miles off in the defile in dragging up the guns of the siege train. The Shah's force was in march considerably in advance, and the cavalry with their guns, and the 16th native infantry were at Dundi Goolae. Round our head-quarters there were only the wing of the

19th Bombay native infantry, and the two squadrons of the light cavalry of the same presidency. This was not, therefore, exactly the state of things in which attack would be welcome; but there was no intention of suspending, on account of these reports, the important labour of passing over the siege train by withdrawing the troops so employed, or of concentrating the force by causing the cavalry to retire from a spot where they had found water and forage.

But behold a specimen of the dependence to be placed on the statements of Asiatics ! Towards evening, two merchants reached our camp ; in the possession of one of them was a paper addressed to Major Leech, bearing the signature of Lieutenant Pottinger, our envoy at Herat. These men affirmed that they had left that city twelve days before, when British influence had again become predominant. They told us that our representative was now Shah Kamran's right hand : and the Wuzeer wholly at his mercy. With respect to the defence of Candahar, they assured us that Kohun Dil Khan had not been able to collect at the utmost above three thousand horse ; and that the sirdar of Gurmseer, whose fief they had lately skirted, was not master of a hundred cavalry. They professed also wholly to disbelieve the tale of the purposed

chupao or *chupawul* of Meer Ufzel Khan and Hajee Khan Kakur. The substance of these two reports has been given at large, both with a view of showing the nature of the opinions entertained in this country at this period, and of exhibiting a specimen of the contradictory stories with which a general's head-quarters are besieged when he makes war in Asia.

As undeniable and painful fact, we know that the heat of the weather, and the labours of the Kozuk pass have seriously increased the number of our sick, especially in the ranks of our European soldiery; that our followers yet suffer with an exemplary patience the most painful privations, owing to the scarcity of grain, and that from the same cause both horses and carriage cattle continue to decline in strength. The united labours of both infantry brigades have to day barely sufficed to drag two mortars and four battering guns across the mountain. These exertions therefore, must be renewed to-morrow, consequently our head-quarters can hardly be fixed under the walls of Candahar before the 27th instant, when the force will not have more than six days grain in reserve.

General Willshire will reach Kwettah on the 18th. From one gorge to the other of the Bolan, he has been systematically and actively

opposed by the Beloochee tribes. His troops are not at present provisioned for more than thirteen days. The Shah, having found no eligible ground in our immediate front, has joined the cavalry at Dondi Golae. At nine at night our head-quarters received an order to accompany the commander-in-chief to the above-named point, and thither it is to be hoped the 1st and 4th brigades of infantry and the siege train will soon follow us. But the best-informed Affghans give us little hope of finding much grain or cattle until we have advanced three marches further beyond Melamanda; so that our followers, horses, and beasts of burthen must draw yet more largely on their stock of patient endurance. Meanwhile the Uchikzyes have rivalled, if not surpassed their brother brigands of Cutch Gundava and the Brahoick range, the Dusht, the Durru of Ana, and the pass of Koochlak. They have not only swept off every article of property which was temporarily abandoned, owing to the failure of camels in the ascent of the defile, but have skirmished audaciously with our irregular horse; and distantly, more than once, with parties of Europeans, and have butchered and mutilated in the most barbarous manner our followers, even at the spring-heads within a few hundred yards of our head-quarters.

As the *suwarrees* of the commander-in-chief and the general of the 1st division descended on the morning of the 18th of April to the foot of the undulating slopes beyond Chummum, they felt the air to be as pleasantly cool as that of the same month in England. At the distance of fourteen miles and a half they came upon the camps which had been established on successive days, as has already been related. On the right was the pavilion of Shah Shooja distinguished by its golden knobs and crimson *kunats*, and surrounded by his force of all arms. Further to the left was our cavalry brigade. Our own tents were destined to prolong this line. Long before we reached Dundi Goolae, the sun had acquired a power which reminded us that we had left the mountain region, and were protracting to a late season our marches upon plains which did not afford the shade of a single tree. We had to wait two hours for our tents, and under the roof of mine, an excellent single-poled one, fourteen feet square with the inner *kunuts*, the thermometer rose by three P. M. to 95°. In hill tents and others of a smaller pattern, the quicksilver was said to have mounted to 100°. I observed it as I have related; and again at daylight the next morning, saw it as low as 58° a difference of thirty-seven degrees within

twenty four hours. This alternation of burning days and cool nights in Affghanistan, is remarked by Mr. Elphinstone, and certainly demanded, in order to preserve health, no ordinary caution in changing the texture of our clothing to suit the vicissitudes of the temperature.

Intelligence has been received from lower Sinde, which further demonstrates the atrocious character of the policy of the Khan of Kelat. A party of Sindian Belooches had made an attack on part of the force near Curachee, and barbarously murdered some of the followers of that reserve. Brigadier Valiant caused them to be promptly pursued, and on the person of their leader were found letters from our ally of Kelat to these cognate freebooters, urging them to do every practicable mischief to the British, to capture their means of transport, cut off their convoys, and butcher their stragglers. These sanguinary papers have been forwarded to the supreme government, and assuredly the work of complete retribution will not be long delayed. The 1st brigade reached Dundi Goolacee on the 19th April. On the 18th the whole of the guns and carriages of the siege train had been brought across the pass, together with about one-fourth of a line of upwards of two hundred

carts of the parc laden with shot and shell. When our 4th brigade and the battering guns are ready to move after us, we hope to be enabled to march up to the walls of Candahar, or until we come in contact with its defenders. The accounts most to be relied on indicate that they do not exceed two thousand horse, who are constantly employed in martial exercises near the city, and vaunt loudly of the prowess which they will display to the terror and discomfiture of the Feringees. The dearth of grain still causes many cheeks to lank, and saddens many hearts in our camps.

Certain information has been received of Ruheem Dil Khan and Miher Dil Khan being within twelve miles of our outposts at the head of a force estimated at two thousand cavalry. They captured this morning two elephants belonging to the Shah; and Lieutenant Edward Connolly, assistant to the envoy, whilst riding in advance with a body of spearmen, fell in with one of the parties of the chiefs, and was compelled to use his pistols in his own defence. The Affghans threaten, as usual, a night attack. This we should esteem a favour; but they have inflicted on us a severe injury by damming up in the hills the only little stream from which

the thousands of our encampments, men, horses, and camels, drank.

Shah Shooja, during the time which was occupied this evening in effecting a necessary change in the alignment of his camp, passed along the whole chain of our outposts with his accustomed retinue. He conversed for some time with great kindness of manner with Sir Willoughby Cotton. He spoke in the faint tone of a man still suffering from bodily indisposition, and seemed to be, mentally, ill at his ease. The presence of the Barukzyes in his front, in a hostile attitude, evidently chagrined him; and though he affected to describe them as a gang of marauders, only capable of executing a *chupao* against unprotected baggage animals, he evidently wished them at a safer distance. "When the heavy guns come up," he added, with a ludicrous seriousness of tone and emphasis, "all will be quickly settled; but, until then, we must be prudent and cautious. So *Macklonton Sahib** and all wise men tell me, and so I think myself."

Not a mouse stirred around our tents at night, and about six A.M. in the morning it was announced that an influential sirdar had ridden

* An Asiatic corruption of the name of the minister.

up to the outposts, and expressed his desire to tender his submission and services to the Shah. Soon after a gaily-dressed cavalier, too portly and well-fed, as it seemed, for treason, cantered in amongst our tents at the head of about one hundred horsemen. This was the since celebrated Hajee Khan Kakur. To the treachery of this man, who owes his power chiefly to his influence over the wild mountaineers of his own tribe, the transfer of the Peshawur territory into the hands of the Seikhs, is chiefly attributed. He was, at the period of that transaction, the professed friend of the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, who employed, but always distrusted him. Aware of the Ameer's increasing suspicions, he afterwards betook himself to Candahar, and gained the confidence of Ruheem Dil Khan, then intriguing against his brother, Kohun Dil, the regnant Barukzye. Ruheem Dil's counsels this turncoat also betrayed, and became the obsequious retainer and adviser of the eldest of the triumvirate, against whom he had been plotting.

As the British advanced towards Candahar, he had taken the field at the head of his followers, with many professions of zeal and attachment to the existing government, and we now beheld him ride with unblushing front

within our pickets to plight an Affghan's faith to Shah Shooja. It is a matter of notoriety in India, that he had, whilst governor of Bamian under his first master, the Ameer of Cabool, shown kindness to Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, when pursuing his venturous course across the Hindoo Koosh in 1832; and to a bribe of ten thousand rupees (one thousand pounds), skilfully administered from Simla before our adroit tourist left that place for the scene of his negotiations in Upper Sinde, we, in a great measure, owe the honour of the Kakur's visit of this morning. The escort of this apostate were mounted on small but active horses. They were variously equipped, but generally wore steel helmets fastened under the chin, with chain plates of small rings of the same metal. Their arms were long spears, and the *toofung*, or Affghan musket, which is a light piece with a stock of peculiar formation, a flinted lock, and a long sling, by which it is carried over the horseman's shoulder. A party of the lancers had been sent to conduct the Kakur sirdar to the royal footstool. Unworthy as this man is of respect and confidence, it is not improbable that his defection will at once turn the scale, that the Barukzye chiefs at Candahar will be wholly deserted, and the city fall into our hands

without a blow. Some other persons of less note, but, it is to be hoped, of more integrity, sent in their adhesion to the Shah in the course of the day.

Candahar may thus change hands without a conflict in fair field, or the hazards of a siege or escalade, but it is not to be won without labours and privations. The plain on which our camp is now pitched, is not, like the level of Siriab, watered by deep and well-supplied kahreezes, carrying coolness and the promise of fertility down their slopes. A small cut, through which we found water flowing from a spring-head in the mountains, has alone supplied us with the useful element since first we advanced to this point. This little channel the Candahar sirdars have caused to be dammed up near its source in the hills, and behold two bold brigades, and the levy of the Shah, reduced to the greatest straits. Horses already half starved for want of grain and good grass, were throughout the day panting in all the agonies of thirst, and in the evening a few drops of water could not be obtained even to mix the medicines of the sick in our hospitals, or to supply them with the refreshment and comfort of a few spoonfuls of tea. All ranks have been taught to understand to-day how little prized when plentiful, how

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outrageously demanded when scarce, is that bounteous provision for the wants of God's creatures, water !

Weary of the delays which had kept us so long at Dundi Goolacee, we moved forward on the 21st into the plains, which we had surveyed from the summit of the Kozuk pass, recognising all the distinctive peaks of the scattered hills, which we had observed from that commanding height. We saw them now magnified, as we approached them, and casting a dark shade over the plains, which they overhung. Anxious looks were from time to time cast towards these green eminences, and their bases were carefully searched for any small streams which might supply the urgent wants of a thirsting force. When at last we found our halting-place near a mud village, walled and bastioned, but supplying neither grain nor any other means of subsistence, a well-ordered camp was traced out, the cavalry was posted in the centre, and the Shah's force and the 1st brigade on the right and left, either flank being refused. It was not very pleasant to discover that this day, too, we must depend for a supply of the indispensable element on the stream of a small and imperfect kahreez. Its water was brackish, and flowed scantily and sluggishly. Thousands of brass

lotas and leathern buckets were soon dipped into the little channel; and though proper regulations were promptly established, one half of the force had not been watered before the scarcity commenced. Soon diluted mud alone could be obtained; and whole regiments, under a burning sun, with parched lips, sighed for night to cool them, and then for morning, that they might move on to a happier spot.

The troops were buoyed up towards evening with fallacious hopes of the waters of a spring actually discovered in the hills, being brought down for their relief into the plains; but up to the hour of early march no stream had begun to flow into the dry bed of a *nulla*, on which many were gazing in hope. The sufferings of the soldiers, both European and native, were for some hours so great, as nearly to tempt some for a moment to forget the restraints of discipline; and never do its principles achieve a greater triumph than when troops are seen obedient and respectful, and trying to be cheerful, under this form of privation. At Killa Puttoollah, officers of the highest rank were brought to acknowledge the value of the simple element. This was no time for the luxurious ablutions which, under the sun of Central Asia, preserve health and restore strength; no time to

waste a single drop of the precious fluid on any bodily comfort, or for any purpose but preparing food or slaking a raging thirst ; and thousands felt this day, that all the gifts of that God whose public praise and ordinances were forgotten on this Sabbath of unwilling penance, would have been worthless to man, if, in his anger, he had withheld the often-despised blessing of water. The kindness and consideration with which some officers of no low rank shared the little portion of the much-coveted fluid which they could obtain, with the privates around them, was creditable to their humanity, and ought to have won the confidence and affection of those whom they commanded.

A chilly north wind was blowing as the force began its march on the 22nd from the scene of its endurance on the plain near Killa Puttoolah. The breeze was eagerly welcomed as refreshing and exhilarating after a day of sweltering heat. The columns pushed on over the level immediately before them. This was soon exchanged for a slight ascent, and then the lofty hills which for several miles had seemed to crowd in frowning groups around us, were closed into a pass, and as we pursued our way by a stony road overgrown with the camel-thorn and wild thyme, the sun arose, and in an hour the heat

made every soldier long to disencumber himself of his cloth coat, his choking stock, and tightly-clasping accoutrements. We heard, as we advanced, that our parties had not yet succeeded in bringing the water from the mountain into the plains of Dundi Goolae, comfortless intelligence for the 4th brigade, and parc, which follow us.

Onward we pressed, and found after a march exceeding ten miles in a deep valley a considerable line of kahreez wells, some corn-fields, and above all, one stunted tree ! But Brigadier Arnold, after hastily reconnoitring the vale, saw reason to dread the same deficiency of water which had to such an extent distressed his horses the day before. He obtained therefore the sanction of the commander-in-chief to his prolonging his march to the banks of the stream of the Dooree. Forward the brigade moved to finish a second march of ten miles, their horses dropping from drought and exhaustion as they toiled on, and leaving in the mountain passes melancholy traces of this day's sufferings and perseverance. When the cavalry had thus got over five miles, in the course of which British dragoons and native troopers were seen eagerly sharing with their chargers muddy and foetid water, drawn from puddles at the side of the

road, the very sight of which would in Hindoostan have equally sickened all to whom it was offered, they struck into a by-road on their left, and winding their way by a narrow path through an opening in the undulating eminences, found themselves towards evening on the banks of a plentiful stream. The rush of unbridled indulgence of the troops and their horses into its waters, after all the privations of the morning, may fairly be described as uncontrollable. What moderation was to be expected from man or beast breaking forth from the restraints of a two days' unwilling abstinence? The march from Melamanda to the Dooree, cost the already weakened brigade not fewer than forty chargers.

Meanwhile, at the former place a more ample supply of water had been found for the infantry, than the first reconnoissances of the position had afforded cause to expect. Much of it had indeed to be brought from a considerable distance by soldiers wearied with their march; but it was now valued as a treasure cheaply purchased by prolonged exertion.

Some Moollas from Candahar were added to the number of the open adherents to the cause of Shah Shooja, on the 21st at Dundi Goolae. These teachers of Islamism form a most influen-

tial class in Affghanistan, and their defection from the cause of the sirdars may draw many around the monarch. His reception of the Kakur chief, Hajee Khan, was very cordial, and at the conclusion of it, the Khan represented that there was in the Gautee hills, two marches in advance, a marauding tribe whose irregularities might perhaps cause some annoyance to the royal troops. He therefore craved leave to go forward for the purpose of using his influence over these lawless people, and pledged himself that if he was permitted to do so, not a finger should be raised against the force. Leave was granted, and he set out; and no sooner had he taken his departure, than some unpleasant doubts crossed the mind of the monarch as to the probability of his return. He did come back, however; and it is but justice to add that our camps were wholly free from molestation whilst in the mountainous vicinage to which the Kakur's guarantee extended.

To the inexpressible delight of every living creature in the army, our head-quarters were fixed on the 23rd of April on the banks of the Dooree, not far from the remarkable hill which bears the name of Leilee Mujnoon. For the romantic origin of this designation, I refer my readers to the interesting volumes of Lieutenant

Connolly. We had at present other objects in view than the nomenclature of peaks and vallies. Secret information was this morning received, which induced Shah Shooja, instead of halting near our corps, to make a forced march to Dih Hajee (pilgrim's village), ten miles beyond Leilee Mujnoon. The cavalry remained throughout the 23rd in their camp at Tukht-i-pool on the Dooree.

The march of the British was resumed on the 24th. The cavalry closed by a very early advance upon head-quarters, and the whole force proceeded to Dih Hajee. Not more than half of the route had been traversed, when a *shootur-suwar* met us in haste, bearing a missive from the envoy and minister. It announced that the Barukzye triumvirs had abandoned all thoughts of present opposition, left their capital, and fled, not towards Cabool, but in the direction of the Helmund, and Persia. It was added, that Shah Shooja, whose baggage had just got clear of Dih Hajee, as we entered it, was pressing on to take possession of Candahar, and we were warned not to suppose that an engagement had taken place, if we should hear that day, or the next, the thunder of ordnance in our front. In Dih Hajee, around which we forthwith encamped, we saw the largest town which we had

approached since leaving Kwettah. Its houses, which might give shelter to two thousand inhabitants, are all built of mud, or sun-burnt brick. Scarcely any of them exceed thirty feet in height; but the roofs of nearly all are shaped into that form of *goombuz* or dome, which surmounts Moosulman places of worship. Their seemingly frail material is baked by the sun of these latitudes into a hardened crust, which resists even heavy rain more successfully than might be expected.

Here, however, as in the villages of Koochlak and Peshing we found only empty houses. Not a living person of the whole population had awaited our arrival; the dwellings were deserted, and every moveable, as well as corn, and all articles of subsistence, had been carried off. The news of this morning must of course be in the nature of a disappointment to those who had looked forward to closing our labours and privations by some act of brilliant achievement under or against the walls of Candahar; but to the Affghan people the prospect of an immediate occupation of the western capital without the protracted calamities of a siege, or the horrors of a storm, is the promise of substantive good. To Shah Shooja it offers the

advantage of his being exhibited to his subjects in the light of a monarch returning to take possession of his throne unattended by the worst evils of war, and the enemy only of the usurping Barukzyes. This branch at least of that intrusive family, the people of Affghanistan have had little cause to love. They were as oppressive in prosperity, as they have been vacillating and cowardly, when real danger threatened them.

Quitting Dih Hajee at 4 A.M. on the 25th, head-quarters, accompanied by our yet imposing though shattered cavalry, and the hard-working infantry of the 1st brigade, advanced across the plains towards the capital. Our camp, during the cool and moonlight night, had been perfumed by the fragrance of a wild flower which grows in profusion on the wilds around. In scent and appearance it resembles *reseda odorata*, the *mignonette* of European gardens. The level beyond Dih Hajee is well watered by *kahreezes*, and, in spots, cultivated up to a considerable point of production. As we approach the western capital, therefore, our opinion of Affghanistan becomes a little more favourable. At the considerable village of Khoosab we had the satisfaction to see the inhabitants seated with

an air of tranquillity on the flat roofs around the domes of their houses. The spell of terror which drove them from us, seems to have been broken by the flight of the Barukzyes. Since we left Leilee Mujnoon, the plains have been no longer shut in by the lofty and gloomy hills which, there and at Melamanda, Killa Puttoolah, and Dundi Goolae, form a restricted boundary to ill-cultivated flats, and add to the intensity of the heat by the refraction of the rays of the sun from their rugged and naked sides, but here we have room to breathe, the heights run off to a greater distance, and form gentler slopes, whilst the plains are rich with fields of barley, and wheat already in ear, and decorated with enclosures of fruit-trees in leaf. Our force was placed in position along a line of kahreezes, the cavalry on the left, the infantry on the right, and head-quarters in the centre. This artificial stream of Khooshab has long been considered as the first *munzilgah*, or resting-place for travellers proceeding from Candahar in the direction of Cutch Gundava. A little further on is a rising ground which commands a distant view of the city. From it at least we see a plain of brilliant green, in the midst of which are white buildings. The low ground is flanked and backed by hills of no great eleva-

tion, but of picturesque forms, and we are struck by the appearance of one very remarkable eminence, the summit of which appears to form a kind of table land, and inclines forward to the south over its base.

We had not long taken up our ground at Khooshab, when we heard the roar of artillery and rattle of musketry, and perceived the smoke of both ascending amidst the trees on the plains to the northward, peaceful intimations, though in a warlike form, that Shah Shooja had entered his western capital. Our accounts describe his reception as enthusiastic. They state that the people of all ranks issued from the city, and formed his escort into it, leaving no employment for his troops, but the demonstrations of joy and triumph which we had witnessed in the distance from Khooshab. Whatever might be the sincerity of the popular plaudits on the entrance of the restored monarch, there seems little reason to doubt the assurances which meet us on every side, respecting the low estimation in which his immediate predecessors were held. They appear to have governed like men who daily apprehended a fall, aiming only at present advantages, and swayed by mean personal motives in all their measures. Whilst they retained their power, they were neither

beloved nor respected, and have fallen without pity or sympathy.

It has been seen how great a treasure our cavalry found in the waters of the Dooree. We have crossed within the two last days the beds of the larger rivers of the Urghesan, and a branch of the Turnuk, but both were dry. We met with the same disappointment in approaching the channel of the Kuduny, which is a few miles to the southward of Killa Puttoollah.

On the 26th, head-quarters alone moved on to the capital. Our troops halted that day under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton in their position at Khooshab. The whole pushed forward at 3 P.M. on the 27th, by the light of the moon. The columns were deprived of that bland illumination about the time that they found themselves crowded into the narrow lanes of a considerable village. Through these they defiled slowly, and it was found necessary to send the artillery by another route round the outskirts of the hamlet.

Candahar is only nine miles from Khooshab ; but it was broad daylight when, after struggling through another extensive village, we saw before us, seated in an open plain of corn-fields and meadows, intersected by water-courses, the object of so many desires and expectations, in a

mass of buildings, worthy of the title of city, surrounded by a quadrangular wall of curtains and bastions, thirty-three feet in height. Behold then at length the western capital of Affghanistan prepared to permit its bulwarks to be environed without resistance by the camps of a British army !

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The main feature in our marches from Kwettah to Candahar, was the same which distinguished our earlier progresses, the lack of “foemen worthy of our steel.” We manœuvred up to the Kozuk pass without any vestige of an army in our front, and when in the plains beyond Khoju Amran the Candahar sirdars had collected a body of horse to oppose us, they vanished like mist before the morning sun, on the first symptom of treachery in their camp. It must be confessed, that hitherto our task has been *escorting*, not campaigning, but this pacific duty has been performed under arduous circumstances, and the exposure to the vicissitudes of climate, the fatigue, and deficiency of food and water, which tried the strength and resolution of our troops between Kwettah and Candahar, as well as the active hostility of the predatory tribes, ought never to be despised as

military difficulties. How gladly would our army have exchanged them for the most determined opposition of the Affghans in the field? How often did our officers long for a battle to raise the sinking spirits of the soldier, and make him feel that he was not labouring and suffering in vain?

2°. Is it not to be regretted that it was not satisfactorily ascertained by a complete reconnaissance of all the passes of Khoju Amran, whether it was not possible to have surmounted the range by a defile far less arduous than the Kozuk? The inhabitants constantly affirmed that the route of Sung-i-Soofued intersected the mountains in the interval between two detached portions of the barrier, and that the acclivity was every where easy. Would it have been time or labour lost to have tested the veracity of these assertions? I presume to think not: for it should be remembered, that the protracted labours of the Kozuk were the grave of the health of a large proportion of our troops.

3°. It might seem a hazardous enterprise to advance from Kwettah to Candahar with only a month's *half*-rations on our camels; but the event fully proved the justness of our calculations. We collected a little grain in the valley of Pesheen; and if the Barukzyes had shut

themselves up in the city, barricaded its streets, manned its walls, and mounted the ordnance of their *Champ-de-Mars* on its ramparts, we might have formed its investment on the 26th, and escalated, or blown open its gate on the 27th or 28th. But if these hardy attempts had failed, our siege train would have come up on the 30th, and we could have contrived to subsist our troops until the breaches were practicable, when we might surely have ventured to anticipate a successful assault.

4°. I am not disposed to quarrel with the bargain, which brought the Kakur chief into our camp. His information, astuteness, and influence might be worth a thousand pounds, though his loyalty would have been extravagantly dear at as many *cowries*. His defection at Dundi Goolae opened the gates of Candahar to us more speedily even than our cannon could have done it. It not only, in truth, diminished the confidence of the Barukzyes in their remaining partisans, but it furnished them with that solution of difficulties, so welcome to the irresolute, an excuse for despair and flight. The Affghans of their faction afterwards pleaded, in extenuation of their shameful abandonment of their post, that their strength was gone, in Asiatic phrase, that their loins (*kumur*) were

weakened, from the moment Hajee Khan set the example of treason to their forces. No one can blame the political department for labouring in their own peculiar vocation, and devising to unlock the portals of Affghan cities with a silver key, or striving to lead the adherents of usurpers back to the path of their duty to their legitimate sovereign by practising on their avarice ; and if, as is believed, the tact of Sir Alexander Burnes had selected the ex-governor of Bamian as a fitting instrument, this is only another proof of his sagacity. But I trust I may be pardoned some lingering regrets that any thing occurred to preclude the chance of a meeting in the plains near Dundi Goolae between the Affghan horse and our cavalry. Broken down though the latter were at the time by fatigue and want of provender, I will not doubt that victory would have been on their side ; and the subsequent events at Ghuznee clearly proved that one hour of such success outweighs the results of months of intrigue and negotiation ; and that the clash of steel for a few short moments will ever gain for the British, in the diffusion through Asia of an opinion of their strength, a greater advantage than all the gold in their coffers can purchase. It is to be wished that they should in no future war forget the rude

poet's description of the policy of the statesmen and warriors of republican Rome, and that we too may ever be seen in our Asiatic enterprises, "Non cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes."*

* Ennius as quoted by Cicero.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.

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WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.
IN 1838—39.

By CAPTAIN HENRY HAVELOCK.

**13TH REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY),
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON,
G.C.B. AND K.C.H.,
COMMANDING THE BENGAL FORCES IN AFFGHANISTAN.**

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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NARRATIVE

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THOUGH we had yet found no enemy capable of opposing our progress, it was not without some feeling of exultation that we moved across the plains towards the walls of Candahar. The length of the route since we had left our own provinces, the noble river, and lofty mountain ranges which we had crossed, the desert tracts

and arid plains which we had traversed, the privations which our troops had endured, and the harassing and vexatious, though paltry attacks to which they had been subjected, all forced themselves upon our recollection as we gazed upon the city, the possession of which was the present recompence of our exertions.

Candahar is situated on an extensive level, which is bounded on the north and west by picturesque mountains of primitive rock. The city is quadrangular, and its defences uniform. They consist of a wall of mud hardened by exposure to the sun, thirty-three feet in height, without *revetement* of stone or brick. The *enceinte* is divided into curtains and semi-circular towers, is strengthened by a low *fausse braye*, and defended by a ditch ten feet in depth and twenty-four in width, at present only imperfectly filled with water, but which could in a few hours be well supplied from the canals of the Urghundab that intersect the city. The southern side of this vast area is thirteen hundred, the northern, eleven hundred, the eastern, sixteen hundred, and the western (which is, in fact, two sides meeting in a large angle,) nineteen hundred feet in length. There are four great gates in this extensive *shuhur-punah*.* The northern is entitled

* City wall.

the *Eedgah*; the southern, the Shikarpore; the eastern, the Cabool; and the western, the Herat. Besides these, there are two less considerable portals in the eastern and western fronts of fortification, denominated the Berdooranee and the Topkhanu, or Artillery. The parapet is battlemented and loop-holed, and pierced, as is the custom in Asiatic fortresses, with apertures for the purpose of throwing vertical missiles into the ditch. The towers, including those over the gates and at the four grand angles of the place, are sixty-two in number, and on these guns might have been mounted, as the rampart is wide, and there are good embrasures in the parapet; but such had been the neglect of the Barukzyes, that we found their artillery, consisting of some twenty indifferent pieces, parked in the open space in front of their citadel. That defence consists of an inner quadrangle of two hundred yards retrenched in the centre of the northern face. Within its inclosure are the several courts and apartments of the royal palace, lately usurped, together with the rule of their master, by the brothers of Futih Khan. Its wall is protected on three sides by a good *fosse*; there is a large bastion in its southern face, and four small towers flank its eastern, and four more its western front. The principal angles

of the outer wall of the city are covered with circular counterguards. Such, as a place of strength, is Candahar. Even if treachery and pusillanimity had not opened its gates to us, it is not probable that it could long have resisted the fire of our batteries and the onset of our troops. The Sirdars might, if they had acted with ordinary resolution, have got together a garrison of three or four thousand troops, for which force they had ample supplies for a full month at least; but there was nothing in the nature of the bulwarks of this capital, or in the character of its constituted defenders, to have saved it from the rapid fall by which two of the strongholds of Central Asia have since been prostrated. Its gates were as vulnerable as those of Ghuznee or Kelat; and in any event, an extensive wall flanked only by very paltry towers could not have offered a protracted resistance to its assailants, if they had proceeded by the slower method of a regular siege.

But no such efforts had been demanded from us. A portion of the troops of Shah Shooja already held possession of the ramparts, gates, and citadel of Candahar, when on the morning of the 27th of April we arrived in front of it; and the population, it not in ecstasies of enthusiasm on occasion of the revolution which they had witnessed,

were at least tranquil, and disposed to be outwardly civil to the army of *Feringees* which had effected this great change. As we moved down towards the city, across plains much intersected by watercourses, but already covered with waving crops of barley and wheat, and verdant and luxuriant lucerne, the picture before us was fine. Above the line of the extensive battlements of Candahar were seen the domes of its great central mart, or Charsoo, of the monument of Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Dooranee dynasty, and of several mosques; and behind these the eye embraced a romantic range of hills. Amongst these was particularly distinguished the mount inclining over its base, which had attracted our attention at Khooshab by its singular conformation. Sir John Keane had pitched his tents in a very extensive garden, or orchard ground, of peach, plum, and apricot trees, belonging to Kohun Dil Khan, and situated near the south-western angle of the place. The cavalry, and the armament of the Shah, were encamped on the western side of the town, opposite the Heratee and Topkhanu gates; whilst the Bengal infantry and artillery were aligned, as their successive portions came up, in the plains to the southward. Our divisional head-quarters took up the ground which

we occupied during the whole of our long halt at Candahar. It was about a hundred yards from the Shikarpore gate, from which it was separated by some fields of barley and lucerne, fenced in with low mud walls. Our pavilions were fixed on a narrow strip of pasture ground of the most brilliant green; its herbage had been closely cropped by sheep, and its closely woven and elastic turf, so different from the covering of the naked and withered grass lands of Hindoostan, reminded us of English downs under their most verdant aspect. We were delighted at first with this little *chummun*, as Persians and Affghans denominate their flowery meads and inclosures of pasturage; but soon discovered its disadvantages. In the level around Candahar, water is found at the distance of from three to six feet from the surface, as we discovered by boring beneath the green carpet of our encampment. The consequence is, a damp most prejudicial to health, and especially productive of low fever, dysentery, and jaundice, which last is the most prevalent disorder of Western Affghanistan. The Bengal departments and the general of cavalry found space for themselves in the same succession of grazing fields, at no great distance from us. Shah Shooja at first occupied his tents under the walls, but on the

evening of the 27th April took possession of the palace of his ancestors in the citadel. The Envoy and Minister, and his assistants, and Sir Alexander Burnes, also occupied apartments within its walls.

Access to the city was at first, as a precautionary measure, denied to our soldiers and followers; but officers speedily made their way into it, curious to traverse the streets of the western capital of Affghanistan. During the period of exclusion, marts were established beyond the walls, to which the inhabitants freely brought their wares for sale. The temporary bazar near the Shikarpore gate was quickly crowded with vendors of rose-water in large green and blue bottles, of sherbet, and *shikunju-been*—the former, simple water, vinegar, and sugar; the latter, a mixture of the same ingredients, with the juice of fruits. There, too, were seen traffickers in asses' loads of lucerne grass, of wheat, barley, wood, and chopped straw; whilst other small merchants claimed attention to their *poshteens* (sheep-skin pelisses), flowered linen *alkhaliks*, and carpets from Yuzd. The horse-dealers of Herat were not long in finding out that a glorious opportunity presented itself of getting good prices for their steeds, which they were seen hourly shewing off to the

best advantage in front of our camps, and our followers found no small attraction in places of resort, where they could procure, at any cost whatever, fowls, *doomba* sheep, onions, milk, tobacco, and spices.

From each principal gate of the fortification runs a street of houses of sun-dried brick. These four grand avenues meet in the centre of the city under the vast dome of a circular bazar denominated the Chuhar-soo, or "Four-ways." These lines of access, as well as the great building to which they lead, are filled with shops, and crowded from daylight to dark with horsemen and foot passengers, as well as asses and camels, laden with commodities. To the northward of the great *goombuz* is a covered bazar, over which is a gallery, containing the *noubut-khanu*, or *nakara-khanu* of the city. From this is heard at sunrise, mid-day, and sun-set, the dissonant clangour and din of trumpets, tabrets, pipes, and drums, with which strangers are always stunned at stated hours in Asiatic cities. In the shops is exposed for sale wheaten bread made up in cakes of an irregularly oval shape. It is soft, and a little acid, but not decidedly unpalatable or unwholesome. The smell of the *kubabs*,* which are to be seen in the stalls

* *Messes* of meat, cut into small pieces, and fried or roasted.

on every side, certainly does not belie the character for savoriness which the Affghans give them. Near them were seen on shambles the carcasses of *doomba* sheep, ready slaughtered, skinned, and cut in pieces.

The fruit season of Candahar had not yet fairly commenced, but red and white mulberries were, on our arrival, plentiful, and another fortnight brought us a profusion of plums and apricots. In the shops of other dealers are to be found horse furniture, looking-glasses, and ornaments of lacquered ware; blue writing paper of Russian manufacture; loaf-sugar, prepared in the same country; and tolerably good, but highly-priced tea, both black and green. The costumes of the people who crowd the various places of resort differ much. Some wear long cloaks or *chogas* of chintz, or of the woollen cloth, or *pushmeena* of the country, with turbans of very ample fold, their whiskers, moostaches, and beards being allowed to grow long and bushy, and the latter being often dyed red with the juice of the *hinna* (*lawsonia inermis*); others are closely shaven, and habited in jackets and trowsers of blue linen, or tunics of drab cloth with long pendent sleeves, their heads being protected by cotton skull-caps of various colours.

The streets are filthy to an excess not to be conceived by one who has not travelled in Asia, and mendicity is to be seen in them in its most loathsome and repulsive forms. Blind, maimed, deformed, ragged, and unspeakably squalid men, women, and children (the last in the greatest numbers), not only stand and sit, but lie grovelling in the dust and mire, and under the very horses' feet, perpetually exclaiming, "*Buraee khooda, buraee khooda!*" "For the sake of God." In the *chuharsoo*, and in other parts of the city, are public *humams*, or warm baths, where visitors, for the small sum of a rupee, are passed through a course of Asiatic ablution, and peeled, kneaded, and dried, after the Affghan fashion, which differs little from that of Hindoostan. The principal streets have been described as consisting of shops. The citadel contains the palace, and its various courts and gardens. In front of it is an open space, on which are parked the abandoned guns of the Sirdars. A battalion of the Shah's infantry are now also quartered on this *Champ-de-Mars* of Candahar, which is connected by a narrow street with the *Durwazu-i-topkhanu*. The mosques are neither numerous nor splendid, and worship appeared to me to be much neglected, though the sonorous voices of the *Moowuzzins* were heard

with great regularity at the stated periods of prayer. There is, to the westward of the Shikarpore gate, a large *surace* for merchants and travellers, but it was, during our stay, empty, or nearly so.

The rest of the buildings which fill the extensive area of this city are the houses of *Moolas*, doctors of the Mahomedan law, *Akhoonds*, teachers of youth, and *Tubeebs*, physicians. In retired quarters of the town are also the residences of the sirdars, who were accounted influential under the Barukzye *régime*. That of Meer Ufzul Khan was one of the handsomest; the house was not large, but its outer walls were tastefully painted in *fresco*, and it looked down upon a pleasing garden of vines, cypresses, poplars, sycamores, and mulberry trees, in the centre of which was a-piece of water. It was surrounded by a battlemented wall, also painted within in *fresco*. To all the better dwellings are attached *tuhkhanus*, or subterranean chambers, to which the inmates retire in the heat of the day, taking good care to avoid them at night, when the damp produces fevers. The retreat of Meer Ufzul, who will be remembered as the chief who so cautiously reconnoitred the Kozuk, suffered much in the late change of

masters. It was despoiled of the wood-work of its doors and lattices in that season of confusion, and would probably have been subjected to further devastation, had not the edifice and its surrounding courts been taken under the protection of Lieutenant Simpson, one of our Commissariat officers, who established in its out-houses the central dépôt and magazine of the force.

I saw more of the dwelling of another refugee of the period, Moohummud Sudeeq Khan, son of the elder Barukzye, Kohun Dil. Sir Willoughby Cotton, and his personal staff, occupied it during the greater part of the months of May and June. A description of it may serve to give a general notion of the mansions of the wealthier Affghans. It consisted of two courts. In the outer area the retainers of the lord of the mansion had been quartered in a series of small apartments, connected by narrow staircases and passages. Below, the horses of the establishment had been stabled. A strong gate, and long dark passage, gave access to the inner quadrangle. In the centre of this was an oblong piece of water in a stone reservoir. On either side of this tank, in the wings of the building, were two small sleeping chambers, and

attached to these, to the westward, were a gallery and some apartments, which seemed to have been set aside for the women of the *zunanu*. The central pavilion looked towards the north, and the slanting rays of the rising and setting sun never touched it. It consisted of an ample chamber below the level of the court, which, from its situation, was tolerably cool even at mid-day in the month of July. Two flights of stairs conducted to the principal suite of rooms. The central chamber had an arched roof, and its doors and windows, and numerous *taqs*, or niches, were of a species of Moresco architecture. Above was a flat roof, or *Balakhanu*, which commanded a view of the city. All the walls of the several rooms were plastered with a glittering species of stucco, or *chunam*,* as it is called in Hindoostan. It is said to be composed of pounded and calcined *mica*, and has a smooth, but glittering surface. The Affghan builders divide this inner coating of their walls into compartments, and stamp it, whilst yet wet, with tasteful devices.

The finest monument in the city is the mausoleum of Ahmud Shah Abdallee, the founder

* *Chooxa* is the word, which is corrupted as above in common use amongst the English.

of that dynasty which we are labouring to restore. It is an octagonal building, raised on a stone platform, and surmounted by a dome, which is a conspicuous object in every direction from the plains beyond the walls. The materials are partly stone, partly sun-dried brick, coated on the outside with stucco. This covering is painted red and blue in the Persian and Affghan manner, with devices of chaplets of flowers in compartments. The pavement within is covered with a carpet, and a shawl is respectfully thrown over the *toorbut*, or sarcophagus of the monarch. The sepulchre itself is composed of a not very fine stone found in the mountains near Candahar, but is inlaid with wreaths of flowers of coloured marble. Twelve lesser tombs, which are those of the children of the Abdallee, are ranged near the receptacle of the ashes of the father. The interior walls are painted in devices similar to those which adorn the exterior, but the execution is more regular, and the colours, having been less exposed, are fresher and more brilliant. The lofty dome above the centre imparts an air of grandeur to the little temple, and its windows of trellis-work in stone admit a solemn and pleasing light. On the eight cornices under the niches of the building is the

following inscription in the Nuskh Taleek character:—

شاه والا جاه احمد شاه دوراني كه بود
 در خوانين امور سلطنت كسرا منش
 از نهيب قهرمان سطوتش در عهد او
 شير اهو را شير خویش دادی پرورش
 ميرسيد از هر طرف در گوش بد خواهان او
 از زبان خنجرش هردم هزاران سر زنش
 روان شد جانب دارالبقا تاريخ بود
 سال هجري يك هزارو يكصد و هشتاد و شش

The following is a nearly literal translation in prose of this poetic memorial:—

“The king of high rank, Ahmed Shah the Dooranee,
 Was equal to Kisra* in managing the affairs of his
 government.

In his time, from the awe of his glory and greatness,
 The lioness nourished the stag with her milk.

From all sides in the ear of his enemies there arrived
 A thousand reproofs from the tongue of his dagger.
 The date of his departure for the house of mortality
 Was the year of the Hijra 1186.”

The tomb which covers the remains of the sovereign is sculptured over with passages of the Koran, and a copy of the sacred volume is kept in the sanctuary, out of which a succession of moollas belonging to the establishment of the

* Cyrus, Choaroes.

place are wont to read aloud. Sir Willoughby Cotton made me the bearer of a handsome gratuity on the part of government to the *mootuwullee*, or superintendent of the mausoleum, and the Envoy and Minister was in like manner munificent. Ahmed Shah possessed many of the highest qualifications of a prince and a warrior, and it may be regarded as an act of piety to be generous to those who are charged with the care and reparation of his sepulchre, whilst the army of the Indus is contributing to perpetuate his renown by consolidating the empire which he erected, that nobler monument of his energy and genius.

In the meantime, what has become of the late rulers of Candahar? They have been permitted, without interruption, to fly towards the Helmund, accompanied by a cumbrous train of camels loaded with *kujawus*,* containing their women and treasure. Their troops have diminished by degrees, until at length their handful of horse barely suffices to guard their baggage animals. It is scarcely possible to conceive a less enviable position than that of these men. Antecedently to the occupation of Candahar,

* Panniers of wood or wicker work, which are slung over camels. In these, men and women ride, balanced on either side, and goods are conveniently carried.

they might, by timely submission, have received at the hands of the British government a comfortable provision, and an honourable asylum in Hindoostan. They have now no resource but flight into Persia. It is known that Moohummud Shah bribed them, with the promise of uniting to their rule the conquered state of Herat, to join in an alliance for its destruction. It remains to be seen what treatment they will receive at his hands now that they are overwhelmed with calamity, the result of adherence to his pernicious policy. But to reach Persia is for them no easy matter. The direct route through Herat they dare not take. Shah Kamran, against whom they have plotted, and who barbarously murdered their ambitious brother, the Wuzeer Futtih Khan, would shew them little mercy; and if they attempt a *détour* through Seistan, the predatory Beloochees of the desert of that country, who seldom allow a *kafila* to pass unmolested, will hardly suffer these sirdars to escape them, since they are reported to have yet a lack and a half of rupees on their camels. I must add, that I am wholly at a loss how to vindicate satisfactorily our own measures with respect to these fugitives. They abandoned the capital on the 24th; on the 25th Shah Shooja entered, and claimed it as his

own. Why was not a prompt pursuit commenced in the direction of the Helmund? There seems to be little reason to doubt that this branch of the Barukzyes was utterly contemptible in the eyes of those over whom they ruled, but the possession of their persons would secure the important advantage of preventing their becoming tools in the hands of the Persians and Russians, and the means of disturbing the peace of the restored empire. The most sagacious of the counsellors who have accompanied their flight is said to be one Moollah Rusheed, the owner of two mansions in Candahar, and a master in intrigue, as well as a graduate in Moohummedan theology.

The title of "Nuseer-ood-dowlut," "defender of the state," has been bestowed on Hajee Khan as a reward for his opportune change of sides in the plains to the southward of Candahar. It is said that the valley of Pesheen has also been assigned to him as a *jageer*. It is yet to be seen whether honours and emoluments will bind him to the cause of the king. He is reputed to aim at higher dignities, and to be of opinion that if, in consequence of the rebellion of the Barukzyes, the office of wuzeer should never be restored to that house, in which, according to the pristine usages of the empire, it is held to

be hereditary, it might be very fitly bestowed on himself. Nay, so high is he thought to rate his treason, as to have framed hopes that he might be selected to sit on the *musnud* of Kelat in case the delinquencies of Mihrab Khan should be requited with disgrace and deposition. If duplicity be the main qualification for rule in Beloochistan, and the motto of its diadem be “*detur astutiori*,” it is hardly possible to conceive a more worthy candidate for such advancement than the four-times-sold chief of the Kakurs.

Now that April has worn away, the air is still cool, and even chilly, from an hour after sunset to an hour after sunrise. But the atmosphere has become already powerfully hot towards mid-day, and the change of season is severely felt by our troops under canvass, whose health had been shaken by excessive fatigue and exposure to the sun in the defile of the Kozuk. The thermometer, which sinks at night to 52°, ranges above 100° in the tents in the daytime. The horses of the cavalry and their artillery are still only the phantoms of steeds, though they have improved a little on the lucerne grass. It appears, however, that barley, the only grain in use in Affghan stables, will

not fatten the generality of quadrupeds bred and nurtured in Hindoostan.

The Bombay infantry brigade, afterwards commanded by Brigadier Baumgardt, the cavalry, under Brigadier Scott, and the artillery, under Brigadier Stevenson, the whole being led by Major-General Willshire, reached these plains on the 4th of May. This force is in the most splendid order; the troops are healthy, and the horses in good working condition. General Willshire has been opposed at every step of his progress through the Bolan pass by the myrmidons of Mihrab Khan. The whole of the forces of the army of the Indus, excepting the brigades of observation at Kwettah and Sukkur, the detachments at Dadur and Shikarpore, and the garrison of Bukkur, are now concentrated under the walls of Candahar. Here it appears plain that we must of necessity await the ripening of the harvest. Our magazines must be replenished from the plains around us before we can prosecute our advance towards Cabool. It is supposed by many that considerable stores of corn are secreted in the city, but the Commissariat have yet been able to collect very little. Lieutenant Palmer's convoy reached us on the 3rd of May; but in ad-

dition to his losses from the failure of camels, much grain had been abstracted by the native agents, without whose instrumentality the duties of this branch of the service can hardly be carried on, whilst little dependence is to be placed on their integrity. A seer of *ottah* is often now sold in Candahar for a rupee, a fact which sufficiently proves the necessities of our native troops and followers.

The 8th of May was fixed for the ceremony of the solemn recognition of Shah Shooja in the plains to the northward of the city, not far distant from the fatal field on which he lost all present hope of empire in 1834. But this spectacle I was not permitted to witness. As the Commander-in-Chief was required on this occasion to be in close attendance on the monarch, the command of the troops would have devolved on Sir Willoughby Cotton. But low fever had been creeping round the frame of the General since the day of our encampment on the Dooree. He had at first disregarded its symptoms, but on the 5th of May, became so ill as to render medical advice indispensable. On the 6th, with the view of avoiding the excessive heat of the camp, he removed to the vacant mansion of Moohummud Sudeeq Khan, in a street in the western quarter of Candahar.

He did not begin to recover until some days after, and on the 8th could not have sat upon his horse. General Willshire therefore commanded the troops, and I give from the report of actual spectators all that I have to record of the ceremonial. The monarch, attended by the Commander-in-Chief, the Envoy and Minister, and the *corps diplomatique*, accompanied by Syuds and Moollahs, and escorted by his own troops, issued from the Eedgah gate. A throne and splendid canopy had been prepared for him in the centre of the plain. Seated on this, in front of the deployed forces of the British army, Shah Shooja was honoured with every mark of gratulation and homage which the customs of Europe and Asia recognise and enjoin. Royal salutes were fired as he passed beyond and returned within the walls of the capital; the troops received him with presented arms, and defiled past him; *nuzzurs* were presented by the Envoy on the part of the British government, and by a certain number of distinguished Affghans in his suite, and one hundred discharges of ordnance shook the ground when he had taken his seat in the *musnud*. But unless I have been deceived, all the national enthusiasm of the scene was entirely confined to his Majesty's immediate retainers. The people of Candahar

are said to have viewed the whole affair with the most mortifying indifference. Few of them quitted the city to be present in the plains, and it was remarked with justice that the passage in the diplomatic *programme* which prescribed a place behind the throne for "the populace restrained by the Shah's troops" became rather a bitter satire on the display of the morning.

No charge of precipitation can be brought against our measures in pursuit of the ex-sirdars. On the 25th of April, Shah Shooja took possession of his capital; and now at length, on the 12th of May, a force consisting of three thousand of the Shah's horse, and a squadron picked from the Bengal 2nd and 3rd Light Cavalry, one hundred men of the 13th Light Infantry, the 16th Native Infantry, reinforced by disciplined foot of the Shah Shooja's army, to the strength of one thousand native soldiers, the camel battery, two eighteen pounders, and two five-and-a-half inch mortars, manned by European artillery men, has marched under Brigadier Sale for the Helmund. It seems not to be doubtful that the Barukzyes will fly before him, and that he will meet with no difficulty but the passage of a broad and rapid stream. It is stated that these fugitives remained, after the abandonment of the capital, eight days on the left bank

of the Helmund without the means of crossing it, in trembling expectation of pursuit, and no doubt as much surprised at, as delighted with, the forbearance, or unaccountable apathy, of their opponents. They have since so far taken heart as to send their families into the fort of Girishk, and to strive artificially to deepen the water of the Helmund at a point near it. Brigadier Sale, in his first march from Candahar, was impeded by several smaller streams besides the Urghundab, which, after flowing to the northward of the western capital, fertilizing the valleys near it, and supplying it with water, crosses the route to Herat a few miles from our encampments.

Shah Shooja, as if feeling that he now grasped firmly the sceptre of one portion of Affghanistan, appointed the 27th May for the public reception of the officers of the British army at his court. The slightest acquaintance with Asiatic rulers and their durbars suffices to convince that it is vain ever to expect punctuality in the atmosphere of oriental rule. The British officers were not therefore on this occasion much surprised at having to wait a full hour in one of the courts of the palace which constituted the residency of the Envoy. They felt that it was better that their time should be sacrificed than the dignity

of a newly restored monarch compromised by departure from an usage which European precision might deem reprehensible, and even a mark of bad taste, but which Asiatic stateliness regards as inseparable from true dignity. At length, a summons reached them to repair to the apartments of the King.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Envoy led the way, followed by about two hundred and fifty officers of all ranks and arms in full dress, to a garden in front of the royal dwelling. It was planted with cypresses and other trees, the inclosure walls, like those at the domicile of Meer Ufzul Khan, being painted in *fresco*. The monarch was seated in the Asiatic manner with crossed legs, upon a low *musnud*, or carpeted throne, erected under a crimson canopy on the edge of a piece of water, clear, and cooling to the air around. Before him was a table covered with brocade. He was fanned with the *chuonres* of the tail of the Tibet cow, and on either side of him, over and above a double row of menials in scarlet turbans, and *ulkhalks*, were seen the commandant and his staff, and the other officers of his disciplined troops. The Shah, richly habited, looked kingly and well. His manner was, as it always had been towards the British, benign and affable; and he found something

courteous and apposite to say to each as the Commander-in-Chief and the Generals and Brigadiers were successively presented to him. He spoke in Persian, which Mr. Macnaghten and Major Todd interpreted. The ceremony of offering *nuzzurs* followed. His Excellency first laid at the feet of the Shah one hundred *ushrufes* in a red silk bag. Then each officer in succession made his offering by spreading or depositing the glittering ore on the steps of the *musnud*. Every general thus presented twenty-one gold mohurs, every field-officer five, and every captain and subaltern one. These sums had been previously disbursed out of the treasury of the Envoy. According to the custom of Oriental durbars, the British were covered in the royal presence, but each respectfully saluted the Shah as he passed the throne, and having presented his *nuzzur*, retired to the lower end of the garden. The monarch is not yet ashamed of a public profession of his gratitude to the army which has brought him to Candahar. Looking with an air of benignity on this occasion at the circle of officers around him, he said with apparent emotion, "I now feel myself to be a king indeed."

We have had a dreadful exemplification of the lawless state of the country, and the san-

guinary character of the people, in the barbarous murder of one of our officers in the immediate vicinity of our camps. The Urghundab flows a few miles to the northward of Candahar. Its stream is clear and rapid, and branches of irrigation from it carry fertility all over the surrounding country. In describing the environs of the city, mention has more than once been made of a remarkable mount, which seems to incline over its base ; this eminence forms one side of a mountain pass. By skirting it, access is gained into a valley near the hamlet of Bala Wulee, picturesque, and planted with fine trees, and watered by the Urghundab. Attracted by the beauty of the spot, many of our officers have formed parties of pleasure to visit it during our prolonged stay at Candahar, and after amusing themselves with angling in the stream, have been accustomed to pitch their tents on its margin for their evening repast.

A fish closely resembling the trout is caught here, and in other parts of the empire.* It was remarked by our sportsmen, that the finny species of the Urghundab would rise to a bait, but never to an artificial fly. On the 28th of May one or two little groups, social and pisca-

* The real English trout (*salmo trutta*) has since been found in the streams near Bamian.

tory, had been formed in the valley. All the parties but one, however, broke up in good time, and the individuals composing them returned in safety to Candahar. Two young gentlemen only, Lieutenants Inverarity and Wilmer, of the 16th Lancers, lingered on the river bank till after sunset. The hazard of this was the greater, as armed men, whose appearance stamped them as belonging to some of the predatory gangs of this ill-governed country, had been seen in the morning lurking near the gorge of the neighbouring pass. With fatal imprudence these officers sent off to the camp their tents and servants, and prepared to return towards the capital wholly unarmed. As if to render escape impossible, they even parted with their horses, which their *syces* led in advance. The moon shone brightly, and, unconscious of the impending danger, the young men strolled leisurely up the *durru*. Lieutenant Wilmer remained considerably behind his companion. It would appear that the latter had not proceeded far alone, when he was assailed by armed men, who cut down, and savagely mutilated him. Lieutenant Wilmer, on reaching the scene of this atrocity, was himself attacked by from twelve to fifteen assassins. He parried their cuts for some time with his walking stick, and then taking to flight,

reached, with a single scratch in the face, the camp of a detachment of the Shah's infantry, not many hundred yards distant from the defile. The *syces* also saved themselves by a rapid retreat, abandoning both horses to the robbers.

Instant aid was afforded to Lieutenant Wilmer, when he arrived breathless at the tents of the contingent. An armed party returned with him to the fatal spot, and there his unfortunate companion was found, yet alive. He had received several mangling wounds across the shoulders, back, and loins, the direction of which fully proved that the assailants had rushed upon him from behind. One of his hands was nearly cut through, doubtless in the efforts which he had made to defend his head. The sufferer recognised his friend, faintly asked for water, cooled his parched lips, and soon after expired. Shah Shooja, when this outrage was reported to him, blamed indeed the imprudence of these young officers in remaining to so late an hour in so retired a spot, but expressed the utmost abhorrence of the crime which had been perpetrated, and declared his resolution to inflict condign punishment on the murderers, if they could be detected. He repeated often, with apparent emotion, during his conversation on the subject, "Oh! gentlemen, you must be

more cautious here ; remember you are not now in Hindoostan."

Brigadier Sale's force returned from the Helmund on the 28th May. The ex-sirdars abandoned Girishk on his approach, and fled into Seistan, where they are believed to have obtained refuge for the moment in the territories of the petty chief of Bukwa. The Brigadier had ferried across his force, and guns, on rafts of timber buoyed up on empty rum casks, having previously fixed a rope to the right bank by attaching it to a shell, which was then projected from the mouth of a howitzer. Girishk is a miserable mud fort, on the ramparts of which one gun only was mounted. It is now garrisoned by the troops of the Shah. Lieutenant Edward Connolly, Assistant to the Envoy, has also taken up his residence there, with the intention, since fulfilled, not only of watching the movements of the Barukzyes, but of exploring Seistan. The Helmund is a grand barrier ; but the country between it and Candahar, the first march down to the Urghundab excepted, is little better than a desert. The frontier river is in some places eight hundred yards in width, but in one point narrows to ninety yards, and is there of unfathomable depth, and tremendously rapid. Here the opposite bank

could of course be swept with artillery, and a passage forced. It is remarkable that on the Helmund the thermometer did not rise higher under canvass than 75°.

As the harvest ripened around Candahar, in the beginning of June, large quantities of grain were collected by the Commissariat, and every preparation made for an advance towards Cabool. The carriage cattle had been recruited in strength by repose, and had fattened on the *jwasa*, or camel thorn, which was found in abundance near Dih-i-nou, and other places, to which they had been sent in a body to graze, under escorts of irregular horse. An *elchee* (ambassador) arrived from Herat, whilst the affairs of that state were under discussion at the court of the Shah. Finally, Major Todd was directed to repair to the rescued city, accompanied by Captain Sanders of the engineers, and Lieutenant Abbott of the artillery. They were charged to negotiate a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Shah Kamran, and to proffer assistance in repairing and improving the fortifications of Herat, so as to render them secure against any new attempt of the Persians.

His Majesty the Shah has experienced much mortification in all his attempts to bind to his allegiance the warlike and predatory tribes of

the Ghiljees. Their forts and cattle are thickly spread along both banks of the Turnuk, and up to the walls of Ghuznee, whilst detached *kheils* are found beyond Cabool, and even at the base of the Teera mountains. The seat of the rule of Abdooruhman, their principal leader, is Kelati Ghiljee. The refractory chiefs of this wild people, one of the most influential of whom is Gool Moohummud, more commonly known by the title of Gooroo, have received the gratuities scattered amongst them by the Shah's agents, and then sent back indignant and contumacious replies to his overtures, whilst their armed parties have been employed in the most audacious *chupaos* against our carriage cattle, even to the very walls of Candahar. In one of these, a very salutary lesson was read to the marauders by a party of sipahees of the 16th Native Infantry; and, in another, the Ghiljees surprised, shot, and cut down several unarmed soldiers of Her Majesty's 13th, who, at an unjustifiable distance from their protecting guard, were driving their camels to water. Their barbarity was likewise evidenced by their having decoyed into one of their forts, plundered, and savagely murdered, a portion of a party of about three hundred profligate, dishonest, and home-sick followers of our army, who had deserted their

masters, and, having formed themselves into a *Kafila*, were striving to escape into our provinces by way of Ghuznee and Dera Ismael Khan.

By the middle of June, corn had become comparatively abundant in the city and our camps; but our Commissariat could not yet venture to place the troops on their original footing as to rations. They persevered, however, in collecting grain with great diligence and success, and caused it to be ground at the numerous mills which are turned by the *Urghundab*. The Bombay troops continued healthy, but sickness amongst the European soldiers from Bengal had increased to a fearful degree. Exposure to heat under canvass in May and June, supervening on a variety of harassing duties, and the fatigue of continued marches, had made a great impression on the constitutions of the men. The flour in the bazars had also been shamefully adulterated by the *banians** during the times of extreme scarcity; and the water of nearly all the streams in Affghanistan has a saline impregnation peculiarly hostile to human health. Diarrhoea, dysentery, jaundice, and fever of various types, the last commonly attended with much cerebral

* Native dealers.

determination, were daily consigning valuable soldiers to the grave. Notwithstanding these losses and adverse circumstances, all was preparation, during the three last weeks of June, for an advance towards the eastern capital. Treasure to the amount of twenty-two lacs had reached Candahar on the 5th. Its escort, under Colonel Dennie, had made a harassing march at a late season through Cutch Gundava, the Bolan pass, and over the Kozuk. A large supply of grain was likewise obtained from Mooltan by means of a numerous convoy of Lohanee merchants, who became the hired carriers of the government, and arrived at Candahar late in June under their Kafilā Bashee, Surwur Khan.

A good deal of useful information was at this time obtained from a French adventurer of low extraction, who, if his autobiography might be believed, had crossed the Balkan in the service of the Turks. He was known to have been more recently employed in the Punjab by the Maha Rajah. He alleged that he had quitted Lahore in disgust, and was now endeavouring, evidently in a state of abject poverty, to make his way back to France by Bombay. As he had now, and on former occasions, travelled with smuggling caravans, whose object was to avoid the imposts of the Affghan and Belooche rulers,

he had become acquainted with several bye routes through the Teera mountains, and the country of the Ghiljees between Cabool and Candahar, as well as the road from the latter city to Kelat, and a precipitous defile, by which he affirmed that the Affghan *contrebandiers* travelled from the capital of Mihrab Khan to the town of Gundava.

Grapes, melons, and apples, and several varieties of the cucurbitous tribe have now taken the place, in the bazars of the city, of apricots and plums. But the people confess that the fruits of Candahar are far inferior to those of Cabool, and the heat of the weather renders even the moderate use of them at this season hazardous. The mornings are yet cool, but the mid-day sun is fearfully powerful, and in the evening a species of hot wind begins to blow, which is singularly oppressive. Towards mid-night it commonly lulls, when there is another sudden and chilling change of temperature, against which it is prudent to take precautions before retiring to rest. It is said that the fatal *simoom* often visits Candahar in June and July; but it was never felt whilst the army of the Indus reposed beneath its walls.

The present capital is considered to be little more than coeval with the Suddozye dynasty.

One of the few objects of interest in its vicinity are the walls of the ancient city of Candahar. They are to be found about three miles due west of our encampments, at the very foot of a range of mountains of primitive formation, which bound the plains in this direction. The road, perpetually crossed by water-courses, lies over fields of lucerne and clover, planted with rows, and groves of white and red mulberry. The vast and ruinous foundations of the former dwellings extend over an area of near a mile, and are surrounded by a mouldering wall, in which wide and deep breaches have been made by time. There is also a ditch of stagnant water. A portion of these remains are believed by some to belong to the Alexandrian period. The city had been built so close to the mountain as to be completely under command from it. In the centre of the old city is a kind of Acropolis, on which are the thin and spectral ruins of some lofty towers; and near the site of the deserted town, a pathway of more modern date has been elaborated up the side of the adjacent range of mountain. There were no inhabitants visible when I visited it, except about twenty Affghans, who were huddled in a circle around two Moollas, that were taking the lead in the devotions of the party in front of a small mosque.

On the 23rd of June, Shah Shooja, by way of preparation to accompany our further advance, quitted his palace, and took up his residence in the royal tents, which were pitched near the village of Dih Khoju, two miles to the eastward of the city. The wild *fou-de-joie* of his Affghan cavalry, as they escorted him through the Cabool gate, would have induced a stranger to their manners to suppose that there was insurrection within the walls, and that a sharp skirmish was going on in its streets. The undisciplined horse, which have gradually been drawn around the monarch, and taken into pay, already amount to several thousands. Our narrative has now reached the point of general preparation for an advance to Cabool.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is to be feared that a want of skill and perseverance in improving their advantages in war and policy is but too justly imputed to the British as a defect in their national character. The advanced columns of the army of the Indus reached the plains beyond the Gautee range under circumstances of distress almost amounting to disaster. Its cavalry and artillery horses were reduced so low in point of condition by various and protracted privations, that the arm

was scarcely effective, and the Commissariat had too good cause to think seriously of the probability of being compelled to have recourse to a yet smaller fractional division of rations. The troops needed repose, food, and some tangible acquisition at least, if they might not be indulged with a victory, to support their spirits, and prove to them that they were not toiling in vain. Doubtless they were fully equal to the task of reducing Candahar, and ardently desired to try their strength against it. But in a political point of view, the abandonment of the capital without a blow by the imbecile and irresolute Barukzyes was a saving of treasure, time, suffering, and blood; in this respect, therefore, substantive gain. Why then was not this advantage followed up? Why were not the fugitive chieftains promptly pursued, and every effort used to secure their persons? Was British India already placed so far beyond the risks of external peril that we could afford to furnish Russia with fresh tools for intrigue, or Shah Shooja's empire so firmly consolidated that we could leave at large, without solicitude, a vanquished pretender to a third of his dominions?

CHAPTER II.

The army breaks up from Candahar—Its health and means of subsistence—Head quarters fixed at Ghojun—Symptoms of affection for Shah Shooja—Defection of the nephew of Dost Mahomet Khan—Reconnoissance of Ghuznee—Storm and capture of Ghuznee—Moohummud Hyder Khan made prisoner—Magnanimity of the Shah—Booty and loss on both sides—Flight of Dost Moohummud Khan—Capture of his artillery—Shah Shooja enters Cabool—Observations.

THE army finally broke up from Candahar on the 27th June, the day on which our ally the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh breathed his last. It moved on successive days in three columns. Head quarters were accompanied by the horse artillery of both Presidencies, by both brigades of cavalry, the 1st brigade of Bengal infantry, the camel battery, and the 4th local horse. The second column consisted of the 4th brigade of Bengal infantry, and the troops of Shah Shooja, at the head of which the monarch moved in person. Garrisons from his

contingent had been left at Girishk and Candahar. The guns and mortars of the Bengal siege train had likewise been deposited within the walls of the western capital, but the remaining *materiel* of the *parc* was escorted by the 4th brigade. The third column was composed of Brigadier Baumgardt's brigade of infantry, the battery of Bombay twenty-four pounder howitzers, and the Poonah auxiliary horse. It was commanded by Major-General Willshire. This was the usual order of advance from Candahar to Cabool.

We had anxiously awaited for three weeks the convoy of Lohaneer merchants. Now that they had arrived with their grain, no possible persuasion could induce them to proceed with us beyond Candahar. They consented to sell their camels to the Commissariat at a very exorbitant rate; but constantly urged that being natives of the vicinity of Ghuznee, and subjects of the Ameer of Cabool, they dared not follow the army whilst their families were exposed to his vengeance. This alarm, which was probably well founded, sadly deranged our plans, as we had confidently reckoned on the supplies brought from Mooltan by these men as a valuable addition to the resources of our field commissariat. Notwithstanding, on the 27th of

June, our first column marched to Ubdoolah Uzeez. It reached Killa Azim on the 28th, having moved at two A.M. to gain the advantage of about two hours of moonlight. The valley of the Turnuk thus far presented an aspect of the most dismal sterility. The outline of the mountains which shut it in to the northward and southward is not devoid of beauty; but they are everywhere bare rocks; without clothing of tree, shrub, or herb of any kind, nor is there any object in the vale on which the eye can rest with pleasure, excepting occasional patches of cultivation and groves of mulberry trees around the villages. The hamlets themselves are only remarkable for the circular roofs of their huts. We fully proved to-day the advantages of early marching. Having moved at two, we were at our ground of encampment by six. Our baggage animals followed closely on our footsteps, and the troops even of the 1st brigade, which was encumbered with the charge of treasure, scarcely saw the sun before their tents were pitched for them, a timely provision for their safety, for though the morning had been chilly, at nine A.M. a gale of hot wind sprung up, and continued to blow throughout the day with unmitigated fury. Notwithstanding the barrenness of the region around us, sup-

plies are not as deficient as heretofore. Barley has fallen to a moderate price, the peasants bring us in from distant villages abundance of chopped straw for our camels, and these useful animals also find for themselves a sufficiency of the *jwasa* when they are permitted to graze at large.

The first trumpet sounded at midnight, and the troops again marched by the light of the moon, at one. The air was now again so chilly that few could endure the blast without the aid of their cloaks. By daylight the column found itself in the midst of a mountainous tract, producing literally nothing but varieties of the highly scented herbs which this army always remembers to have first seen on the Dusht-i-bee-doulut. The road was distinctly marked, which is not often the case in Affghanistan; but the constant undulations of the country delayed the advance of the artillery. A little after six A.M., we saw on our right the Turnuk, a shallow stream flowing between verdant banks fringed with shrubs of tamarisk. Near to the river were patches of wheat, some ready for the sickle, some recently reaped. The peasantry gathered themselves in groups to gaze at the troops as they passed. When we greeted and questioned them, they described themselves to

be Populzyes, and, if their own report might be received regarding their political creed, were stanch adherents of Shah Shooja. They seemed, at all events, to be peaceable and inoffensive, which is the character generally of the agricultural tribes in Affghanistan, whilst the pastoral Kheils, commonly mountaineers, are men of violent and lawless habits. The Populzyes mentioned Dost Moohummud in terms of bitter hatred. "Down to the earth with him," said their spokesman, suiting the action to the word, and vehemently striking the ground.

The village of the Kheil is remarkable for its picturesque situation on a sudden rise, for the well-built dome of a large tomb in the centre of it, and the roofs of its huts being flat, and not arched like those of the hamlets between it and Candahar. It was half-past seven before our infantry reached their ground, and the atmosphere soon after became insufferably heated, the wind, which fell little short of a simoom, again blowing with the same violence as yesterday. Shah Shooja, before leaving the western capital, had nominated his favourite son, Futih Jung, to fulfil nominally the duties of his *naiib* or viceroy. In making this selection, he had passed over an elder brother, Moohummud Ukhbar, whose mo-

ther is a sister to the Ameer of Cabool. This son and the Shahzada Shapoor accompany our line of march; a fourth, the Shahzada Sufter Jung, has remained at Candahar. Major Leech exercises political functions there, and Colonel Herring, of the 37th native infantry, is at present the military commander.

From the 30th June to the 4th July, we pursued our route up to the right bank of the Turnuk, leaving our camps, morning after morning, by moonlight, and toiling on over a mountainous tract, our road being sadly cut up by the streams, which rushed across it from the hills on our left. At Shuhur-i-Soofa we found not even a hamlet or solitary hut. Nothing marked the spot but the remarkable hill of conical shape mentioned by the traveller Forster. At Teerundaz, we saw the little stone column erected to commemorate the successful archery of Ahmud Shah Abdallee. If the Doo-ranee conquerer did really, as is asserted, shoot an arrow from the hills above to the site of the pillar, he might justly have added Teerundaz, or the Archer, to his own titles, as well as giving the name to the scene of his exploit.

On the 4th of July we reached Kelat-i-Ghilgee, the principal hold of the tribes, whose forts and towers are scattered over the hills and val-

leys around it. In this fortress, of which we had heard so much, we were more disappointed than in any place to which we have hitherto bent our steps in Affghanistan. It is at this day nothing more than a tabular mound, such as abound in this district, on which the artificial *frustum* of a cone has been thrown up by way of citadel. Of the walls of the fort there is scarcely a vestige, and it seems probable that the place never was of more importance than the central receptacle of the plunder of a tribe of marauders. A spring of clear water, which bears the name of Nadir Shah's well, gushes out from the top of the natural eminence, and the stream from this source flows down the sides of the hill. They are clothed with luxuriant clover and camel thorn; but these and two or three mulberry trees are the only productions of the mount. About a mile from it, on the plain below, are an extensive orchard and a small town, near which are two square forts with towers at each angle. Even within reach of these more substantial dwellings, a portion of the population was seen dwelling like true *nomades* in tents of black felt.

If our spies were to be believed, the Ghiljees had boasted loudly before we came up, of their determination to defend their ancestral hills,

vales, and fortresses; but they did nothing to redeem their pledge. Two hundred horsemen of the tribe remained on a hill until the advanced guard of the Bombay cavalry approached within very long musket range, and then galloped off precipitately amongst the mountains, some northward and some southward, without firing a shot. Other smaller parties scampered off in equal haste from several points in the valleys at the same moment. The Commander-in-Chief's tent was pitched upon the height which the Ghiljees had a few minutes before abandoned.

The head quarters halted at the Kelat* on the 5th, where the Shah united his camp to ours. His Majesty has invested a Ghiljee named Samud Khan with the title of chief of the tribe in the room of their contumacious patriarch Abdoolruhman, whom he has formally deposed. A sentence of outlawry has also been pro-

* Kelat, Kulat, or Qulat, قلعت signifies simply fort. The plural قلع Qilu, or Killa, is more commonly in use, especially in the Hindoostanee, in the sense of a noun singular. The various towns popularly designated as Kelat have all, correctly speaking, a distinctive affix, as Kelat-i-Nuseer, the capital of Beloochistan, and of its celebrated ruler Nuseer Khan; Kelat-i-Nadir, the stronghold of that conqueror in Persia; and here, Kelat-i-Ghiljee, or the main fortress of the Ghiljees.

nounced against Gool Moohummud. Both these leaders are at the head of bodies of horse in the recesses of the mountains on our flanks, and will probably use their best efforts to harass us during our advance. A little beyond Asiya Huzaru (Huzaru's mill) we had crossed the boundary of the territory lately ruled by the Barukzye sirdars of Candahar into the provinces, in which, under all the revolutions of the empire, the Ghiljees have affected independence.

Our march through the midst of the fortresses of this tribe was for some days devoid of incident. Moving at a short distance from the Turnuk, we were secure of a sufficient supply of water. We did not hasten our advance, but carefully reserving the strength of our men and condition of our horses for any great effort which might be required of us, steadily advanced towards Ghuznee. We calculate that by getting over only ten miles daily we shall reach it about the 20th. On the 8th we found ourselves near mountains of a loftier and more picturesque outline than any we had been of late familiar with, and in one spot, the windings of the Turhuk at their feet partook of beauty and grandeur. Still the scene is ever remarkable for barrenness. The hills are without bush

or verdure of any kind, and little strips and patches of ripe grain, and a very few clumps of mulberry and apricot trees alone decorate the plains, which are blackened with the crackling plants of the acrid southernwood. The only music of the region is the shrill chirping of a large painted insect, apparently of the scari-boean tribe. Swarms of them congregate amidst the rushes of the dry *nullas*, and buz around the trees of the few groves. Now and then a bustard (*otis Bengalensis*) is seen upon the wing, and the waters of the Turnuk are alive with shoals of fish. Amongst them is found the same species which was caught in the Urghundab, and thought so closely to resemble the trout. We were reminded of the herring by the flavour of another kind, the only fresh water fish in which we remembered to have traced any affinity to that inhabitant of the ocean.

We have now no longer moonlight to guide us on our way; we therefore remain in our camps until near daylight. Our former plan of marching brought us earlier to our halting ground, but the present secures a longer period of unbroken repose to our harassed soldiers, followers, and baggage animals, and we are enabled by daylight to proceed with more confidence along the margin of the river, sometimes pre-

cipitous, and to cross with less risk the beds of the transverse streams. Grain has been brought into camp in such considerable quantities by the villagers in the plains as to cause something like abundance to prevail in our bazars. Wheat may be purchased at ten and twelve seers the rupee. Barley is dearer; but it has here been allowed to ripen fully. The cultivators around Candahar had reaped it in sickly immaturity, owing to their anxiety to clutch a portion of the wealth of the invaders. It was in this state found very unwholesome.

The mornings now are delightfully cool, the nights never oppressive, and the heat of the day quite endurable under canvass. This happy change is to be attributed to our having imperceptibly climbed to an altitude hardly short of six thousand feet above the level of the ocean. Still the sick increase in number; and the deficiency of vegetable jellies, and good farinaceous food, the indifferent quality of the flour, and want of tea, wine, and various stimulants and comforts, retard recovery in the hospitals. But these are paltry evils compared with those which part of our army is said to be encountering at Dadur and Shikarpore, and the plains around them. The fatal *simoom* is reported to have swept away whole detachments, stretching

in a moment the blackened corpses of officers and men on the shrivelled plains.

The leading column was on the 10th at Shufta, and on the 12th at Chushmi Shadee, or the "fountain of delight," so designated from a beautifully pellucid spring head on the left of the main road to Cabool. Our ascending course still lies between two ranges of mountains running nearly north-east, and south-west. At Tazee we had encamped at a greater distance than usual from the Turnuk, and now almost dread to think of parting with our familiar companion of so many marches. For this, however, we must be prepared at Mookloor, where we shall find the parent fountains of the stream. The Ghiljee chief Abdoolruhman was on the morning of the 12th in a village close to our left, and made an attempt to open a negotiation with the military commander; but as the Shah had come to a definite resolution regarding him, the parley was cut short, and he was warned that he must expect to be treated as an enemy if met in the field. The Ghiljee did not wait for a second intimation, but disappeared amongst the fastnesses of the mountain. The country hereabouts is profusely spotted with the forts and castles of the tribe; and as each of these is commonly enlivened with a few peach, apricot,

or mulberry trees growing in its vicinage, this portion of the valley wears a gayer aspect than the banks of the lower Turnuk. Whilst one Ghiljee leader thus watches us on the left, the light forayers of Gool Mahomed observe us on the right, always, however, at so cautious a distance as to avoid any collision with our cavalry patrols.

Head quarters were fixed at Ghojun on the 13th, and the armed parties of the enemy skirmished during the morning with our irregular horse. They attempted also, on ground where the deep bed of a dry *nulla* favoured them, to carry into effect one of their favourite little projects, called a *chupao*, on our stragglers, sick, and followers. In both instances they were foiled and repulsed. Our camp was pitched at length, on the morning of the 14th June, on the most inviting spot which we have occupied since we quitted Roree on the now distant Indus. The springs of the Turnuk gush out of the earth in four or more little fountains, close to a grove of poplar trees of gigantic girth, at the foot of a majestic range of wild crags of primitive formation, and on the edge of an extensive plain of elastic greensward. Our left rests on the rocky and romantic barrier which looks down upon the river head; whilst our

right is stretched out up to the walls of a cluster of the fortified, but abandoned, habitations of the Ghiljees, which a small body of infantry could hold long against the united forces of our cautious partizan foes, Abdoolruhman and Gooroo. The plain of Mookoor, or Mookloor, as it is variously called, is celebrated in the history of the intestine feuds of the Affghans.

The European portion of our force has now for five days marched without the aid of their spirit ration, the commissariat stores of rum having at length been completely exhausted. The sudden withdrawal of this species of stimulant is certainly a trial to the human constitution at a period when unwonted labour and exertion, the want of a good vegetable diet, and wholesome farinaceous food, and of pure water, form a combination of circumstances peculiarly unfavourable to a healthy state of the digestive organs. But I am full persuaded that when the soldier has by a few weeks' use become habituated to the change, his physical powers will gain strength, whilst his discipline improves, under this system of constrained abstinence, and the troops will enjoy an immunity from disease which will delight those who are interested in their welfare. It is probable that we shall not find the means of replenishing our

stock of ardent spirits until this important experiment has been fairly tried.

The Goorkha battalion of the Shah, commanded by Lieutenant Handscombe, skirmished on the 15th, with signal success, with a large body of Ghiljee marauders, who had the audacity to attack their line of march. The hardy little mountaineers of the Himalaya rushed with characteristic boldness and activity up the rocks, amongst which the assailants took refuge after their repulse, and completed their defeat with considerable loss.

The commander-in-chief, after a day's repose at Mookoor, advanced on the 16th to a line of Kahreezes in the district of Oba; on the 17th to ground near Karabagh; on the 18th to Mooshakee; on the 19th to a spot nine miles beyond it; and fixed his head quarters on the 20th at Nanee, eleven miles and a half from the fortress of Ghuznee. Between Mookoor and the Kahreezes of Oba, the peasantry for the first time exhibited something like hearty enthusiasm in favour of the restored monarch. The Populzyes of Kheil-i-Akhoond seemed rather to be animated with a dislike to the Barukzyes than very zealous in the cause of the older dynasty. But the simple-minded men whose villages we approached this morn-

ing ranged themselves in rows on the edge of their newly reaped fields, and inquired with every mark of sincerity and affection, though in barbarous Pushtoo, when "Shoojawool Baba," as they called their king, would arrive. They wete Huzaras, and said to be the only people of the tribe to be found in the plains. The rest of their Kheils inhabit the hills, and are there mischievous and predatory; these few agricultural peasants of the same clan are considered to be simple-minded and pacific. During the five days' advance from Mookoor to Nanee, repeated attempts at *chupaos* have been frustrated by the vigilance and activity of our cavalry and irregular horse. Grain has now become so plentiful that, from the 17th of July, the commissariat has been enabled to issue, as before the arrival of the force at Kwettah, full rations to the native troops, and half to the followers. Barley at present sells at from fourteen to sixteen seers the rupee.

As the columns moved down to their ground at Nanee, an Affghan cavalier of rather pleasing features and deportment, and well dressed and mounted, rode towards us, followed by fifteen Dooranee horsemen. He was evidently in an excited state of mind, and inquired earnestly for the Envoy and the Shah. This was Abdool

Rusheed, nephew of Dost Moohummud Khan, a youth whom the Ameer, in his high and palmy state, had always treated with mortifying and undeserved severity. In the day of trial, he had been sent to Ghuznee with his brother to aid in its defence. He had found a large garrison collected within its walls under the command of Moohummud Hyder Khan, one of the numerous sons of the Ameer, who had formerly fought bravely against the Seikhs at the battle of Jumrood. Both nephews seem soon to have exhibited symptoms of an inclination to espouse the cause of Shah Shooja. The suspicions of Moohummud Hyder were awakened. He sent first for his younger cousin, and receiving only doubtful and hesitating replies to his categorical demands touching his fidelity, ordered him to be forthwith put to death. Abdool Rusheed only saved himself from a similar fate by prompt and secret flight at the head of a few retainers, who diminished more than one-half in number before he reached the British camp. Sir Alexander Burnes considers Abdool Rusheed a very striking likeness of his uncle the Ameer of Cabool. He has given us some information respecting the fortress of Ghuznee, which will be serviceable in case of a siege or assault, and he is altogether an amiable and intelligent

person. As the Shah entered his tent this morning, the camel battery was directed to fire a royal salute. This might distinctly be heard by his subjects at Ghuznee, the hills adjacent to which are clearly to be seen through the telescope from our present position.

Unpleasant doubts have for some time been entertained as to the views and movements of Hajee Khan, the Kakur chief. Under various and frivolous pretexts, he remained at Candahar, after the march of the Shah, and in like manner, when put in motion against his will, delayed his advance to join his Majesty with the Affghans placed under his command. It was at length fully believed that he had once more changed sides, and would be found in the ranks of our enemies in front, flank, or rear, perhaps at the moment when his appearance might be least welcome. Finally, however, a stern and imperative mandate caused him to quicken his pace, and he is once more near the British camp. It is nevertheless shrewdly suspected that he is only waiting to see the issue of the struggle which may now be anticipated under the walls of Ghuznee.

Hajee Dost Moohummud Khan, the sirdar of Gurmseer, who personally gave in his adhesion at Candahar, is accused of more palpable

delinquencies. It is alleged that he has been inducing a number of Affghans to devote themselves upon the Koran to the destruction of Shah Shooja, or, according to the letter of Moossulman notions on such a subject, to become *Ghazees*, or the champions of the faith against a monarch banded with unbelievers. Near Nanee a respectable body of Tajik peasantry crowded around some officers of our divisional staff, and asked them, with apparent simplicity, and in very good Persian, whether all was true which they had heard of the equitable rule of Shah Shooja since he had returned with the Feringees, whose justice and forbearance, they added, was praised throughout the world. They told us that the affections of the former friends of the Ameer of Cabool had been entirely alienated by his violence and oppression, and that he would be deserted by everybody in his hour of need.

The earliest information of the morning at Nanee was to the effect that Moohummud Hyder Khan had abandoned Ghuznee, or certainly would retire from it without a contest. But towards evening the reports of our spies were of a more warlike character; and whilst the reconnoissances of the Quarter-Master-General's department proved that Ghuznee was

still occupied in force, secret intelligence was submitted to the Commander-in-Chief of the intention of the Affghan army to attack us by moonlight in our camp. This was an event which we ardently desired. Our position on hills sloping off to the northward, and supported on yet loftier heights, was sufficiently strong, and, by arduous forced marches, the 4th brigade and the whole of General Willshire's column were enabled to join us during the night. All the gorges of the mountain passes by which our enemy could debouche upon any portion of our line were forthwith guarded by picquets and outposts of cavalry. The whole force in line, piling their arms in front of their tents, lay down to rest on the greensward, fully accoutred, and ready to start upon their feet and open a fire on the approach of an enemy. But day broke without an Affghan having been seen in any direction. The army struck its camp, and, formed into five columns of attack, commenced its advance across the stony but open plains towards Ghuznee.

As the force moved off, fresh deserters from the enemy coming in maintained most positively that the fortress had been abandoned. The information of the Envoy and his political assistants was to the same purpose. Abdool

Rusheed, who rode with Sir Alexander Burnes in advance of the columns, would not venture to give any decided opinion as to the intentions of his countrymen. Thus we continued to march on in uncertainty until the grey walls and lofty citadel were full in view, and parties of horsemen were seen guarding the approach to the extensive gardens, inclosed with high walls, which now alone separated us from the *enceinte* of the place. This did not look like an intention to evacuate the fortress. Still the Envoy, relying on the value of his secret sources of information, seemed confident that no defence was meditated.

Sir Willoughby Cotton rode on to reconnoitre the principal road. The Affghan horsemen retired as he approached; but as soon as our advance guard had penetrated between the gardens, which lay on their right and left, a body of skirmishers began to fire upon the staff, as they were surveying the fortress through their telescopes. It was evident that all further reconnoissance must be conducted in force. The three regiments of the 1st brigade were therefore directed to move up towards the walls in three several directions, availing themselves of such cover as the ground might afford. It was rightly anticipated that if the ramparts were

still manned, this movement would draw some corresponding demonstration from the garrison. We were not left long in suspense; for as soon as the troops debouched beyond the outer line of gardens, a flash and curling smoke from the ramparts, and a round shot whistling over the heads of the soldiers of the most advanced regiment, very clearly and acceptably answered the question which we were silently proposing. A sharp fire of musketry was at the same time commenced from the garden walls around the fort, from an outwork which enfiladed the river at its foot, and from the battlements of the place, whenever our troops came within range of them.

Sir John Keane, with a view of inducing the Affghans further to display their force, placed some pieces of the Bombay artillery and of our camel troop in battery. They began a smart cannonade and bombardment; and the enemy, evidently supposing that we were projecting a serious assault on their works, brought four or five guns to bear upon our columns, and the advanced parties, which had been pushed down to the very margin of the river that flowed between us and Ghuznee. Thus a noisy skirmish, enlivened by a responsive cannonade, was kept up for a full hour. The Affghan *tirailleurs* had

been speedily dislodged from the gardens; but from the walls of the town, the citadel, and the little detached tower before mentioned, they replied warmly with round shot and musketry, whilst our soldiers, established within the surrounding inclosures, and our batteries, partly screened by some old buildings, repaid with interest the activity of their enemies. Time was thus afforded to the Commander-in-Chief calmly and fully to survey the southern face of the renowned *Dar-oos-sultunut-i-Ghuznee*,* now evidently occupied by a numerous garrison, from whose minds nothing seemed to be further removed than thoughts of retreat. The object of the reconnoissance having been fully attained, the troops and guns were slowly and deliberately withdrawn out of cannon shot, and the several brigades encamped to the southward of the fortress. The enemy gave us some, by no means despicable, specimens of artillery practice, at men and horses, as the troops drew off; and we afterwards heard that they exulted much in the thought of having compelled the British to retire. Ghuznee, one front of which we had thus satisfactorily reconnoitred, certainly far exceeded our expectations, and the tenour

* Seat of the Sultan's power. So Ghuznee was denominated in the days of the conqueror Muhmood.

of all the reports we had received, as regarded the solidity, lofty profile, and state of repair of its wall and citadel, and we now saw that we had at last before us an enterprise worthy of our best efforts.

In one respect we were ill prepared for the task which events had set us. Napoleon at Acre, Wellington at Burgos, Lord Lake at Bhurtpore, had each found cause to rue the hour in which they attacked fortifications, unprovided with a sufficient number of guns of breaching calibre. Not profiting by these familiar examples, we, giving too implicit credence to the often-repeated assurances of those who were supposed to be acquainted with the most secret springs of action of the Affghans, to the effect that they certainly would not defend either Cabool or the fortress of Ghuznee, after dragging our siege train laboriously from Ferozepore to Bukkur, from Bukkur to Kwettah, and from Kwettah to Candahar, had shrunk from the exertion, supposed to be supererogatory, of conveying it further, and had left it in the western capital. To say the least, this rendered more arduous and hazardous the attempt, from which it was now far too late to recede.

The force had not been encamped three

hours when it received an order to put itself again in march. The Quarter-Master-General and the Field Engineer had lost no time in closely reconnoitring the whole of the hostile circumference. They were of course saluted by a fire from its guns whenever they were perceived within range by its defenders. On their reports the plan of Sir John Keane was at once formed in his own mind. Observation had shewn, as we had before heard, that all the gates of the place had been bricked up, with the exception of that which gave egress northward to Cabool. Opposite to that opening, the line of our investing encampment was this night to be drawn, thus giving to Moohummud Hyder and his garrison the tacit but intelligible summons to surrender or die, since evasion by the only open road was thus barred.

About four, P.M., the force recommenced its march, moving off in columns, the cavalry to the right, and the infantry to the left. Thus circling round the fortress out of cannon shot, the army essayed to establish itself in its new line of observation. The troops were wearied by the march and exertions of the morning, and as they had the rapid Logur and several tributary streams to cross in their circuit, night had already interposed its curtain between them

and their wondering enemies, when the regiments of the 1st division found themselves at the foot of a lofty range of heights to the north-west of the place, and opposite to the guns of its citadel. These hills had to be ascended by a narrow and winding road. When we had reached the table summit, there was just enough of starlight to enable us to discern on the plain below those two lofty columns, memorials of the palmy state of Ghuznee, the rich and populous capital of the stern invader Muhmood, which we had before descried at a distance as we crossed the plains to the southward. They now sufficed to indicate to the wayworn columns that they were approaching their new line.

The descent was scarcely less laborious than toiling up the acclivity. It was at length, however, achieved by the glimmering light of a waning moon. But the baggage and followers of the division were far in its rear. It seemed doubtful whether by any exertion they could be brought before morning across the Logur, or the water-courses near it, even if they should escape interruption and plunder from the armed parties of the enemy. The regiments found their ground with some difficulty, and being without tents, rations, or followers, perceived

that, hungry and weary, they had another night of shivering bivouac before them. Dropping shots were heard from the fortress throughout the dark and lagging hours; but as the British sustained no loss in any quarter, the fire seemed to have no object but to testify the alertness of the garrison. Conjecture, too, was kept alive during the cold vigil, by seeing lights constantly displayed from the citadel, which were answered by corresponding fires in the plains and on the heights around.

It was known that Moohummud Ufzul Khan, another son of the Ameer of Cabool, had marched down from the capital with the view of deblockading Ghuznee, and was now close to us. The forces of the Ghiljees, Abdoolruhman, and Gool Moohummud, were in the field at no great distance. A party also of fanatics from the Soolueman Kheils, who had taken arms when a religious war had, as a last resource, been proclaimed by the tottering Barukzyes, now occupied the heights to the eastward of the valley in which the fortress stands. Reflections on these circumstances, and on our want of a battering train, the glimmering of the lights on the hostile battlements and in the plains, and the chill of the night air, effectually chased away slumber until day broke on the 22nd.

Its light enabled us to survey our position, and to compare the precipitous pathway by which we had in the darkness ascended and descended the heights, now on our right flank, with the safer Kotul up which our baggage soon after wound, and by which we also might have climbed. The first labour of the morning was, to collect our tents and foundered baggage animals, our followers and sick, out of ravines, and from the top of eminences, into and up to which they had needlessly plunged and mounted in the shades of night.* We now saw that a grand line of encampment was established to the northward of Ghuznee. The troops and court of the Shah were on the left, next to them the British cavalry, the head quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, and the artillery in the centre; near to it the infantry from Bombay, and our 4th brigade; and on the right, resting their flank on the heights to the northwest, were the brigades of the 1st division. A

* A medical officer of the 13th reproved a sick soldier for want of care of his health on account of the manifest effect produced on his wasted frame by exposure to cold during this night. The man said in his defence, "Why, sir, what could I do? The black fellows set down my *dooly* in the dark on the top of that mountain, and as I did not know how near the enemy might be, I was obliged to leap out, and take my arms, and *stand sentry over myself* the whole night." A new species of out-post duty.

road led from a spot very near our head quarters through the extensive ruins of the old capital, passing by the base of the two pillars built by rival architects in the age of Muhmood. These are the only monuments in tolerable preservation of the pristine splendour of the conqueror's metropolis.

This morning, Sir John Keane, accompanied by Sir Willoughby Cotton, took a calm survey of the fortress from the heights, and fixed in his mind the details of one of the most spirited and successful attempts recorded in the annals of the British in Asia. His written instructions were issued in the evening.* They were to be regarded in the light of confidential directions to generals of division until carried into effect, when they found a place in the orders of the day. In the meantime, as much of them as it behoved that each should know was communicated in writing to brigadiers and leaders of columns, and by them in the same manner to those under their command.

About two, P.M., our camps were put on the alert by the sudden appearance of a considerable body of Affghan horse on our left rear. They poured down the heights in that direction, as if intending to execute a *chupao* against the tents,

and person of the Shah, towards the camp of whose contingent they were evidently directing their course. His Majesty's disciplined cavalry quickly turned out to repel the assailants, and, supported by the Bengal cavalry brigade, drove them back upon the heights. Here the Shah's horse manœuvred to hem in the Affghans; and having succeeded in detaching and surrounding a portion of them, cut down several, and took some prisoners. The affair proved to be an irruption of the fanatic bands before mentioned, who had been excited to take up arms against Shah Shooja in the character of *ghazees*, devoted to the destruction of a monarch that had been represented to them as impiously leagued with the enemies of the faith. These enthusiasts carried green banners, and were led on by Moollas and Syuds to the field, where, however, their valour scarcely kept pace with the zeal which they had professed for the cause of the prophet.

The Shah's troopers decapitated some of the slain, and brought their heads in triumph into the camp, a barbarous practice, too nearly akin to the customs of our opponents, and unworthy of imitation by the soldiers of a king acting as the ally in the field of the British. The captive Ghazees, when brought before their sovereign,

are said to have openly avowed their intention of putting him to death. They conducted themselves with treasonable insolence in his presence, and one of them, drawing a dagger concealed about his person, stabbed a *peeshkhidmut*, or attendant, in the durbar tent, before his arm could be arrested. The most audacious of them, after repeated warnings to desist from their traitorous invectives, were carried out, and beheaded by the royal executioners.

During the continuance of this skirmish, a remarkable shot was fired from an ornamented brass forty-eight pounder gun, mounted in the citadel, to which the Affghans had given the designation of the "*Zubur-Zun*," or "hard-hitter." After a double *ricochet* in the intermediate plain, the ball entered the camp of the Shah, against which it was directed, and slightly grazed first the leg of a trooper, and then the thigh of a camel. The distance was certainly not less than two thousand yards, and the wounds in both cases were very slight; yet both the soldier and the unlucky quadruped died of them. Apprehension must surely have aided the injury in the case of animal instinct, as well as in that of human reason, as if it had appeared to either sufferer impossible to survive

a blow from such a missile as a ball from the *Zubur-Zun*.

But these less important details must no longer detain us from our narrative of the spirited little achievement of the 23d of July. On Sunday we have seen Ghuznee reconnoitred in force ; on Monday, a line of half investment was described against it to the northward and eastward ; on Tuesday, it was to change masters by a blow, sudden and unexpected, and with a celerity yet wholly inexplicable to its defenders. The confidential instructions of the Commander-in-Chief were calmly and quietly circulated on Monday evening, and began to be carried into effect at midnight. The strength of the lofty and scarped citadel of Ghuznee is somewhat impaired by the circumstance of a spur of the heights to the north-west of it stretching down to within two hundred and fifty yards of its walls. On one of the highest points of these eminences, which our columns had needlessly climbed on the Sunday night, is an old *Ziyarutgah* ; and lower down, but nearer to the fortress, is another temple and a small Affghan village. It has been intimated that Moohumud Hyder had closed with masonry the other four gates of the fortress, leaving open that only

which led towards Cabool, directly in front of which, transversely to the line of road on which stand the two pillars of the age of Muhmood, the 1st brigade of the Bengal division was now encamped. It has likewise been specified that gardens and their walls run down to the edge of the ditch of the fortress, and might temporarily become places of lodgment either for the garrison or the besiegers.

On the above few *data* Sir John Keane based the notion of his bold and brilliant plan of attack. His want of a siege train precluded all hope of breaching; for he had seen that his guns, the largest of which were no better than field artillery, could make little impression on the well baked crust of the walls of Ghuznee. His project, therefore, pivoted on his ability to cause the ruin of the Cabool gate to supply the place of a breach. The weather was most favourable to the attempt. It blew so strongly, and in such loud gusts from the east at night, and towards dawn, as to render inaudible to the devoted garrison the tramp of columns, and the rattling of artillery wheels, and even to deaden the roar of guns of small calibre.

The road which led by the pillars to the Cabool gate was the line of attack. About and after midnight, four companies of the 16th native

infantry, and two of the 48th, established themselves in the gardens in the margin of the town, to the right and left of the spot where the head of the column was to rest previously to the assault. Somewhat later, three companies of the 35th regiment native infantry, under Captain Hay, making a *détour*, took up a position to the northward of the fortress, and distracted the attention of the garrison by keeping up a constant fire of musquetry against the works. Three had struck, and daylight was distant only one short hour, when more serious measures of assault began to be matured.

Field artillery, guided by the instructions of Brigadier Stevenson, was placed in a well chosen position on the commanding heights opposite the citadel, and began a cannonade, which soon induced the enemy to respond with every gun they could bring to bear upon the hills, whilst the nine-pounders of the camel battery directed a fire against the walls from the low ground on the left of the road at a range of not more than two hundred and fifty yards. Meanwhile, slowly the storm was gathering and rolling on to the fatal gate. Captain Thomson, with the officers and men of the engineer establishment, had crept down to the works, furnished with nine hundred pounds of powder in twelve large bags, which

was to blow into the air the strong barricade, behind which the enemy felt secure. Behind this simple machinery of destruction, a column stood arrayed upon the road, yet screened by the shades of night. It was subdivided, in the instructions, into an advance, a main column, a support, and a reserve.

The first of these was composed of the light companies of the Queen's, the 17th, and the Bengal European regiment, and of Captain Vigor's company of the 13th light infantry. It was led by Colonel Dennie. The second body, under the immediate command of Brigadier Sale, was made up of the remainder of the Queen's and Bengal Europeans, whilst, as an auxiliary to its efforts, the whole of the 13th, excepting its storming company, extended as skirmishers along the whole of the assailed point of the fortress. The support was, H. M.'s 17th regiment, led by Colonel Croker. The column denominated the reserve was personally commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton, and composed of the unemployed companies of the 16th, the 35th, and the 48th.

The British guns were now in battery, and had opened ; and the enemy was answering their smart fire by sending every now and then a round shot with a rushing sound through the

air on an errand of vengeance. From the southward, the fire of Captain Hay's musketry was heard, whilst, as our skirmishers along the whole northern face were from time to time desecrated, they were saluted with *jazzal* (wall-piece) and musketry shots from the ramparts. The scene became animated. The Affghans exhibited on their walls a succession of blue lights, by aid of which they strove to get a clearer view of the efforts which were about to be made against them. But of the real nature of the mischief which they had to dread, they remained wholly ignorant. In expectation of a general escalade, they had manned the whole circumference of their walls.

The northern rampart at length became a sheet of flame, and everywhere the cannonade and fire of musketry became brisker and brisker. But these soon ceased, or were forgotten, for scarcely had day begun to break, when, after an explosion barely audible beyond the head of the column amidst the sighing of the boisterous wind and the rattle of the cannonade, a pillar of black smoke was seen to rise, and then, after a pause, the bugle sound to advance was distinctly recognised. The moment was interesting. It was yet dark, and the column was composed generally of young troops. A notion

pervaded it that a bastion had fallen in under the fire of the artillery; others thought that one of the enemy's expense magazines had blown up; but all who had seen the instructions of the preceding evening knew that the crisis had arrived, and that the attempt was now to be hazarded which was to make or mar the projectors of the enterprise.

The engineers had done their work boldly, prudently, skilfully. Captain Thomson and his coadjutors had crept silently along the bridge, or causeway, which afforded a passage across the wet ditch, and up the steep, defended by loop-holes, which led to the gate. Close to the massive portal he had piled the bags, and fired the hose, or *saucisse*, attached to them. His explosion party effected this in about two minutes; and then retired under such cover as they could find, to watch the progress and results of their pyrotechny. The enemy were still in ignorance of the nature of the scheme laid for their destruction. Anxious, however, to discover the cause of the bustle which they partially heard in the direction of the important entrance, they now displayed a large and brilliant blue light on the widened rampart immediately above the gate. But they had not time to profit by its glare, when the powder exploded, shivered the

massive barricade in pieces, and brought down in hideous ruin into the passage below, masses of masonry and fractured beams.

The stormers, under Colonel Dennie, rushed, as soon as they heard the bugle signal, into the smoking and darkened opening before them, and found themselves fairly opposed, hand to hand, by the Affghans, who had quickly recovered from their surprise. Nothing could be distinctly seen in the narrow passage, but the clash of sword blade against bayonet was heard on every side. The little band had to grope its way between the yet standing walls in darkness, which the glimmer of the blue light did not dissipate, but rendered more perplexing. But it was necessary to force a passage; there was neither time nor space, indeed, for regular street firing, but in its turn each loaded section gave its volley, and then made way for the next, which, crowding to the front, poured in a deadly discharge at half pistol shot amongst the defenders. Thus this forlorn hope won gradually their way onward, until at length its commanders, and their leading files, beheld, over the heads of their infuriated opponents, a small portion of blue sky, and a twinkling star or two, and then, in a moment, the headmost soldiers found themselves within the place. Resistance was over-

borne, and no sooner did these four companies feel themselves established in the fortress, than a loud cheer, which was heard beyond the pillars, announced their triumph to the troops without.

But, oh! the fugitive character of human success, even in its brightest moments! How nearly was all ruined by the error of an instant! Brigadier Sale, whilst his skirmishers were closing by sound of bugle, had steadily and promptly pressed forward to support the forlorn hope. As he moved on, he met an engineer officer, evidently suffering from the effects of the recent explosion, and anxiously inquired of him how the matter went beyond the bridge. This gallant person had been thrown to the ground by the bursting of the powder, and though he had not received any distinct wound, fracture, or contusion, was shaken in every limb by the concussion. His reply was, that the gate was blown in, but that the passage was choked up, and the forlorn hope could not force an entrance. Brigadier Sale was too cool and self-possessed not to be able at once to draw the inference that to move on under such circumstances was to expose his troops to certain destruction. He ordered the retreat to be sounded. The tempestuous character of the weather, and the noise

of the fire of all arms did not prevent this signal from being heard even by the reserve ; but it conveyed the order which British soldiers are always slowest in obeying. The column, however, made a full halt in the path of victory. But the check was not of long duration. The Brigadier, perfectly calm at this moment of supposed difficulty, addressed himself to another engineer officer, with whom he happily fell in at this interesting moment. He assured him that though the passage of the gateway was much impeded, the advanced stormers, under Colonel Dennie, had already won their way through it. The brigadier promptly gave the signal to move on.

But the delay, short as it had been, was productive of mischief. It had left a considerable interval between the forlorn hope and Brigadier Sale's column, and just as the latter, in which the Queen's regiment was leading, had pressed into the gateway, a large body of Affghans, driven headlong from the ramparts by the assault and fire of Colonel Dennie's force, rushed down towards the opening, in the hope of that way effecting their escape. Their attack was made upon the rear company of the Queen's, and the leading files of the Bengal European regiment. The encounter with these desperate

men was terrific. They fiercely assaulted, and for a moment drove back, the troops opposed to them.

One of their number, rushing over the fallen timbers, brought down Brigadier Sale by a cut in the face with his sharp *shumsheer*.^{*} The Affghan repeated his blow as his opponent was falling, but the pummel, not the edge of his sword, this time took effect, though with stunning violence. He lost his footing, however, in the effort, and Briton and Affghan rolled together amongst the fractured timbers. Thus situated, the first care of the Brigadier was to master the weapon of his adversary. He snatched at it, but one of his fingers met the edge of the trenchant blade. He quickly withdrew his wounded hand, and adroitly replaced it over that of his adversary, so as to keep fast the hilt of his *shumsheer*. But he had an active and powerful opponent, and was himself faint from loss of blood. Captain Kershaw, of the 13th, aide-de-camp to Brigadier Baumgardt, happened, in the *melée*, to approach the scene of conflict; the wounded leader recognised, and called to him for aid. Kershaw passed his drawn sabre through the body of the Affghan;

^{*} Asiatic sabre.

but still the desperado continued to struggle with frantic violence. At length, in the fierce grapple, the Brigadier for a moment got uppermost. Still retaining the weapon of his enemy in his left hand, he dealt him, with his right, a cut from his own sabre, which cleft his skull from the crown to the eyebrows. The Moo-hummedan once shouted "*Ue Ullah*,"* and never spoke or moved again.

The leader of the column regained his feet, and feeling himself for the moment incapable of personal exertion, yet calmly directed the movements of his men, who, after a fierce struggle, in which many ghastly wounds were exchanged, had now established themselves within the walls. Substantive success began to shew itself on every side, and the Commander-in-Chief, who had taken his station with his staff near the higher Ziyarut gah, being assured from the prolonged shouting and sustained fire of British musketry within the area of the fortress that the walls were won, had ordered every gun of the batteries on the heights to be aimed at the citadel. To that point, also, Brigadier Sale, quickly recovering his strength, began to direct his personal efforts.

* "Oh, God!"

Meanwhile, the support under Colonel Croker was slowly winding its way through the gateway, obstructed by the ruins and by the *doolies*, by means of which the surgeons were collecting, and carrying to the rear, the wounded of the Queen's and Bengal European regiments. The reserve also had closed up to the walls; and so long as its advance was checked by the unavoidably slow progress of the troops before it, necessarily had to endure the fire of screened and hidden marksmen on the ramparts. At length the support, coiling in its whole length, disappeared within the fortress, and then, and not till then, the reserve, seeing the gateway cleared of troops, marched steadily forward.

Whilst this was enacting near the portal, the anxious glances of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff were directed towards the citadel, from which a prolonged resistance might yet be expected; but here the assailing force was signally favoured by the course of events. Moohummud Hyder, surprised by the sudden onset which had wrested from him the walls that he had deemed impregnable, abandoned in despair the mound, on which he might have renewed the contest, and when the British had ascended the winding ramp, which led to the Acropolis of Ghuznee, they found the gates yield to the

slightest impulse from without, and in a few minutes Sir John Keane had the satisfaction to see the colours of the 13th light infantry, and of the 17th regiment waving and flapping in the strong breeze on the ramparts of the Affghan's last stronghold.* Brigadier Sale, notwithstanding his wound, had climbed up to this scene of interest, and was guiding everywhere the exertions of the soldiers, who now, however, found little occupation beyond arresting the flight of the fugitives, and giving assurance and protection to the shrieking women of the harem.

The reserve, too, was now fairly within the walls, and no sooner did it feel its footing to be secure, than it wheeled to its left and ascended the eastern rampart, from which a galling fire had been directed against it whilst it was detained under the walls. As its files penetrated within the houses in that direction, driving before it all who resisted, a new character was imparted to the scene by its activity; for a body of concealed Affghans, perceiving that their hiding

* The narrator must be allowed to indulge the partiality of friendship in recording that the first standard that was planted on the rampart of the citadel was the regimental colour of the 13th light infantry, carried on that occasion by Ensign R. E. Frere, nephew of the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.

places were explored in this unwelcome manner, rushed out madly, sword in hand, and endeavoured to cut a passage for themselves to the gateway.

At this moment groups of fatigued soldiers were resting on their arms in the low ground below the citadel, and many of the wounded had been collected there preparatory to their being carried to a place of security, whilst hundreds of horses of the vanquished Affghans, frightened by the fire, were galloping wildly about the area. Down with surprising activity came this troop of desperate fugitives amongst these detached parties, who sprung on their feet in a moment, and directed a fire against them. The Affghans, as they rushed furiously on, cut right and left with surprising force, and swords as sharp as razors, not only at armed and active soldiers and sipahees, but at the wounded as they lay, at their own terrified animals, at every object which crossed their path. A wild *fusillade* was opened upon them by the troops on the slopes of the citadel, and, in the midst of a scene of indescribable confusion, the native soldiers, gathering in threes and fours around each furious Affghan, shot and hunted them down like mad dogs, until the destruction of the whole party was completed.

The writer of this narrative happened to have an opportunity of observing closely the effect of one of the swords of these desperate men. A soldier of the Queen's had received a bullet through his breastplate. His blood had flowed in a crimson stream down to his very boots as he lay, apparently in a swooning state, in a *dooley*, with his right arm extended over the side of it. An Affghan, in his progress towards the gate nearly severed with one blow the exposed limb from the body of the prostrate and defenceless soldier. He arose, supporting it with the other hand, and staggered against the wall in speechless agony; but the balls of numerous assailants soon took vengeance for their comrade's sufferings. The scene now excited feelings of horror, mingled with compassion, as, one by one, the Affghans sunk under repeated wounds upon the ground, which was strewn with bleeding, mangled, and convulsed and heaving carcasses. Here were ghastly figures stiffly stretched in calm but grim repose; here the last breath was yielded up through clenched teeth in attitudes of despair and defiance, with hard struggle, and muttered imprecation; and there a faint "*Ue Ullah*," or "*buraee Khooda*," addressed half in devotion to God, half in the way of entreaty to man, alone testified that the

mangled sufferer yet lived. The clothes of some of the dead and dying near the entrance had caught fire, and in addition to the agony of their wounds, some were enduring the torture of being burnt by the slow fire of their thickly wadded vests, and singed and hardened coats of sheep-skin.*

There was throughout the affair no fair struggle for mastery excepting within, or in the immediate vicinity of the gateway; but as portions of Brigadier Sale's column, and afterwards of the reserve, traversed the town and swept its narrow streets, a desultory fire was kept up against them, which occasioned loss. It was whilst engaged in this part of the duty of the assailants that Major Warren, of the Bengal European regiment, who had shed his blood thirteen years ago in the escalade of Bhurtpore, was here again severely wounded. He was hit by three balls out of several which were fired at the same moment from one of the houses. One bullet struck him obliquely in the breast, touching in its passage a lobe of the lungs; a second penetrated his left wrist, and the third passed through the biceps muscle, and fractured the bone of his right arm. Lieutenant Haslewood of the same regiment survived some of the

* *Poshteens.*

deepest wounds which were inflicted by the Affghan swords in the gateway on this morning of bloodshed. The detached tower, from which so sharp a fire had been kept up on our parties during the reconnoissance of the 21st, was carried by the gorge by a small party of the 13th, under Lieutenant Wilkinson.

And now resistance seemed to be everywhere overpowered, and the Commander-in-Chief and his staff having entered by the Cabool gate, gazed upon the scene with feelings of self-gratulation, meditating on the important results of the exertions of two hours and a quarter, from the opening of the artillery at three, to the cessation of all continued firing at a quarter past five. Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, the personage most deeply interested in the issue of the struggle, was conducted up the ramp of the citadel by Sir John Keane and the Envoy. His Majesty had ridden down to the memorable portal before the contest was at an end within the walls; and it was an affecting sight to see this old man, so long familiar with agitations and vicissitudes, climb, under the influence of evident emotion, up to the summit of this celebrated hold, which he now once more felt to be his own.

“ Thus was ” Ghuznee “ lost and won ; ”

thus, in little more than two short hours, a garrison plausibly estimated at three thousand five hundred men was dispossessed of a fortress, the walls of which, up to the moment of attack, had scarcely been grazed by cannon shot, the fire of the works being as entire as in the first hour of investment. This had been done without a ladder being raised in escalade. The enemy, convinced that the place could only fall after a protracted siege, had provisioned it for six months, and the plan of national defence of the Ameer of Cabool had been based upon the assurance of our being detained under the walls until the snows of winter, the hostility of the irregular hordes collected on the various ranges of mountain around us, and the appearance in the field of the main forces of eastern Afghanistan, would have rendered us happy to decamp in any direction which we might have found open.

Moohummud Hyder, in arriving from the capital to assume, at his father's bidding, the command of the place, had brought with him all his women, a proof of his opinion of the strength and security of the captured hold. Let it be recorded to the honour of the captors, that though Ghuznee was carried by storm, after a resistance stout enough to have roused the

angry passions of the assailants, the Affghans were everywhere spared when they ceased to fight; and it is in itself a moral triumph exceeding in value and duration the praise of the martial achievement of the troops, that, in a fortress captured by assault, not the slightest insult was offered to one of the females found in the zunanu within the walls of the citadel.

This forbearance, and these substantive proofs of excellent discipline, reflect more credit on officers and men than the indisputable skill and valour displayed in the operation. But let me not be accused of foisting in unfairly a favourite topic, or attempting to detract from the merit of the troops, when I remark in how great a degree the self-denial, mercy, and generosity of the hour may be attributed to the fact of the European soldiers having received no spirit ration since the 8th of July, and having found no intoxicating liquor amongst the plunder of Ghuznee. No candid man of any military experience will deny that the character of the scene in the fortress and citadel would have been far different if individual soldiers had entered the town primed with arrack, or if spirituous liquors had been discovered in the Affghan depôts. Since, then, it has been proved that troops can make forced marches of forty

miles,* and storm a fortress in seventy-five minutes, without the aid of rum, behaving, after success, with a forbearance and humanity unparalleled in history; let it not henceforth be argued that distilled spirits are an indispensable portion of a soldier's ration. The medical officers of this army have distinctly attributed to their previous abstinence from strong drink the rapid recovery of the wounded at Ghuznee.

One thing seemed wanting to render the victory complete—viz., the capture of Moohummud Hyder Khan. It was for some time suspected that he was concealed in the *zunanu*, disguised in women's habiliments, but it fell to the lot of Captain Taylor, of the Bengal European regiment, Brigade Major of the 4th Bengal brigade, to discover his real place of retreat. In a house near the Candahar gate, he observed a body of Affghans, who demanded quarter with cries of "*Aman*" when he first approached the dwelling. On his entering it, one of them fired upon him, and the ball, penetrating his jacket, slightly grazed his breast. This act of treachery, and the anxiety betrayed

* The 4th brigade and General Willshire's column had to march this distance in order to join head quarters previously to the attack of Ghuznee.

by the Affghans to prevent his entering into the inner apartments, increased his suspicions. He obtained the aid of a detachment of troops, and in a small and retired room discovered a stout and rather handsome young man, plainly dressed, who at once acknowledged himself to be the Umeerzadu. Captain Taylor took in the chamber the pistols of the captive, which were handsomely inlaid with silver. His sword, a valuable Persian blade, had been left in the *runanu* at the moment of his hasty escape. There it was found by a soldier of the 13th, and made over to Brigadier Sale, from whose possession it again passed into that of the Commander-in-Chief, and was by him thrown into the general mass of prize property.

Moohummud Hyder was much agitated when brought into the presence of the Shah. He remarked that he now for the first time felt himself to be a rebel. But the monarch behaved to him with magnanimity, and said, with an air of dignified compassion, "That which has been, has been. You have deserved much evil at my hands. But you have this day comported yourself like a brave man. I forgive the past; go in peace." The Commander-in-Chief had previously stipulated with much earnestness for the

youth's life, and he was immediately placed in a tent under the *surveillance* of Sir Alexander Burnes.

The success of the day had cost the victors seventeen non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and eighteen officers, and one hundred and forty-seven non-commissioned officers, and privates, wounded. Of the Affghans, five hundred and fourteen are ascertained to have fallen in the town, since that number of bodies was buried by the British. The amount of their wounded cannot be exactly estimated. There is no reason to think that on this occasion it would fall short of the lowest proportion to the killed in most actions—viz., three to one. Sixteen hundred prisoners were taken, but many of them were armed inhabitants, not regular combatants. It is believed that one hundred more of the enemy fell under the sabres of the cavalry, the Bengal brigade having swept the plains to the southward, and intercepted all fugitives in that direction; whilst the dragoons from Bombay guarded the Cabool road, and were in readiness to repel any attack of the Ghiljees, *Ghazees*, or the regular army of Dost Moohummud's leaders. Upwards of one thousand horses, three hundred camels, a great number of valuable mules, vast stores of *ottah*, *ghee*,

and other provisions, a large quantity of powder, shot, and lead, nine pieces of ordnance, including the *Zubur-Zun*, arms of various kinds, *toofungs* (Affghan firelocks), pistols, *toofungchus*, (musquetoons), *skumsheers* (sabres), *peeshekubzes* (long daggers of a peculiar make), shields, and chain armour, with plain and embroidered pouches, powder horns, and other accoutrements of Asiatic manufacture, became the lawful booty of the captors, and were handed over to the prize agents.

The force employed by the British in the operation amounted to four thousand three hundred and sixty-three fighting men of all ranks. Since it is known that upwards of five hundred of the enemy were slain, and that more than fifteen hundred were made captive, and it may be conjectured that not fewer than one thousand, perhaps more, escaped from the fortress, either wounded or unhurt, the estimate which has quoted in round numbers the garrison at between three and four thousand can hardly be exaggerated. The number of well-sized horses which were found in the place, besides the stout and active *yaboos*, on which Affghan musqueteers are often mounted, fully prove that Moohummud Hyder had not fewer than five hundred cavalry in his force. The facts which have been cited

enable us to form a tolerable judgment for ourselves, independently of the statements of spies, and prisoners, and the Barukzye muster rolls.

The spirit-stirring events of the 23rd for some time occupied all minds. Until the novelty of the impressions of that day in some measure wore away, it was impossible to turn to observe with any attention the ruins of old Ghuznee, or even to visit the tomb of the stern invader Muhmood. About a mile and a half to the northward of the city is the vast *rouzuh*, or inclosure of gardens and orchards, which surrounds the monument. The almond tree, a species of long blue plum, the pear, and the apple, were at this season seen here loaded with fruit, not come to maturity. The apricot was in July covered with leaves alone, but the vines gave promise of an approaching vintage. This verdant area is traversed by several umbrageous lanes and alleys. At the angle of one of those, just where a stream of glassy water rushes forth into the plain beyond, is seen the building which contains the ashes of the great Ghuznevide conqueror.

After passing through a court-yard, once adorned with a series of marble lions and fountains, which are now miserably neglected, and through a dark, low-roofed temple, the cloisters

of which are filled with importunate beggars, the visitor finds himself in front of the mausoleum. Around the secluded spot are some venerable mulberry trees; but it produces a feeling of disappointment to find the remains of him for whose ambition all Asia seemed too narrow a space, deposited under a roof so humble, and without any concomitants of splendour or beauty. The famous gate of two leaves of sandal wood embossed with brass, which is said to have been brought from the old temple of Somnauth in Guzerat, does not correspond in size and magnificence with the consequence which history attaches to the expedition. The body of the conqueror is inurned in a low and plain marble sarcophagus, on which passages of the Koran are sculptured in the Cufic character. At the head of the tomb is seen the mace of the monarch, with which, according to his annals, he acted the part of so successful an iconoclast. As an appropriate decoration to the place, degenerate moderns have hung up some huge eggs of the ostrich, and the skin of an enormous tiger shot by a bold Affghan in the country of the Wuzeerees.

The ruins of ancient Ghuznee are to be traced over a considerable space in front of the encampment of our right and right centre.

The foundations are in best preservation to the eastward, but there is no monument remaining of the magnificence of the capital, of which the structures are said to have surpassed those of every metropolis in Asia, excepting the twin minarets before noticed in this narrative, and which, so long as they escape the ravages of time, will serve to mark the track of our victorious columns. The height of each is estimated at one hundred and fifty feet. Their pedestals, which are half of the whole altitude, are hexadecagonal, the shafts cylindrical. The material is brick; but description cannot easily give a notion of the grace and beauty of their proportions. The pillar nearest to the fort has a winding staircase within, and inclines considerably over its base.

Whilst the necessity for forming hospitals for the sick, and organizing depots and magazines, detained us at Ghuznee, one of the results of its capture was seen in the arrival in our camp of a negotiator in the person of Nuwab Jubbar Khan, brother of the Ameer Dost Moohammud, "the patriarch of Cabool," as he has been called by Sir Alexander Burnes, who has rendered him famous throughout Europe by his praises, in his volumes of travels, of the hospitality, frankness, and sincerity of his character. We

learn from the same good authority that he had little cause to be satisfied with the Ameer's treatment in the days of his prosperity. It necessarily tended therefore to raise him in our estimation when we saw him prepared to make an effort to prop his falling fortunes.

The pith of the propositions of which the good Nuwab was the bearer was, the acceptance by the Ameer of the provision repeatedly proffered by the British government, and an expression of his willingness to surrender the government of the state of Cabool into the hands of Shah Shooja, in order to spare the further effusion of blood. Thus far all read smoothly; but it was clear at once that the negotiation must be a failure, when it was added, that the Ameer would never consent to live, as had been proposed, under *surveillance* in the British provinces, and that whilst he freely relinquished the independent government of the state under his sway, he declared to be indefeasible his right, as the head of the Barukzyes, to fill the hereditary office of Wuzeer; in other words, that he consented to cease to be a king in Affghanistan on condition of being permitted to assume, like his unfortunate brother, Futih Khan, the character and offices of maker and controller of kings.

It was impossible to do more than listen civilly to such proposals as these. But the Nuwab professed to view them in a different light, and felt, or affected, the utmost indignation at their rejection. As his peculiar position was well known in the camp, perhaps his bluntness as a negotiator increased the sentiments of respect for him which the British had been prepared to entertain; but it was hardly possible not to smile when he wound up his parting harangue by reminding the Envoy and Minister that at the hands of the Shah and his counsellors would be required the lives of all the brave men who might fall in the contest if the reasonable and moderate demands of his relative were not complied with. He was treated throughout the conference with that politeness and consideration to which the uprightness and consistency of his private character, and his uniform hospitality to Europeans, so fully entitled him, independently of the sacred claims of his present office, as mediator in behalf of an unfortunate brother.

The army was put in motion on the 31st of July. The order of march was the same as that observed from Candahar to Cabool. The route lay through the gardens and orchards which surround the tomb of Muhmood. In

its immediate vicinity, indeed, all was verdant and productive; but no sooner had we left its inclosures behind than the troops found themselves once more between two ranges of dreary mountains, in valleys the very picture of barrenness and desolation. They climbed in ascending to Shushgao, or "the six cows," a pass which must have elevated them at least fifteen hundred feet above the lofty level of Ghuznee, and found there, on the morning of the 31st of July, a sharper and more bracing air than is enjoyed in any part of the British Indian provinces in November. There is a gradual descent towards Huftasiya, which is continuously perceptible as far as the valley of Cabool. At our second halting-place we met with Khurotee, who was leading the life of a *humsaya** amongst the Woorduks of this valley, and told us that he knew well the road from Dera Ishmael Khan to Ghuznee by Kaneegorum, the existence of which Surwur Khan, the Kafil Bashee of the Lohanees, had been disposed to deny. Another peasant described the route yet more circumstantially, but doubted the practicability of a portion of it for artillery in the winter season.

* Denizen. See Elphinstone's Cabool, *passim*.

The weather became hotter and the country less picturesque as we approached Hyder Kheil. Near Huftusiya, the valley and mountains had not been deficient in beauty. The peasantry hereabout are chiefly Woorduks. Daily since we left Ghuznee small parties of Kuzzilbashes have come in to offer allegiance to Shah Shooja. It is well known that this clan of foreign mercenaries were originally imported from Persia by Nadir Shah; they are fully naturalized at Cabool, and though a species of military exclusives, who live in a separate quarter of the city, denominated the Chundawul, and seldom intermarry into ordinary Affghan families, yet, like the Pretorian guards, or the Janissaries in their nation and day, they possess the power of giving a tone to the feelings of the whole of the warlike forces of the territory under the rule of Dost Moohummud. The desertion of these men may therefore be viewed as symptomatic of the total decay of his power. Shah Shooja has not fewer than ten thousand Affghan troops in his camp, but it is to be feared that little dependence could be placed on their fidelity, if the hopes of the monarch were to be dashed by the slightest reverse.

Head quarters were fixed on the 2nd of August at Sheikhabad. In order to reach our

encampment we had to cross, by a narrow bridge, the rapid but fordable Logur. That river is greatly increased in magnitude near Sheikhabad by the confluence of a considerable stream which flows down from the hills to the westward. On the right bank of the Logur, a road strikes off eastward to the town of the same name, whilst on the left another route over the mountains leads to Bamian. We halted here on the 3rd, and early that morning the Envoy and Minister joined us with the camp of the Shah. As he approached our head quarters, he was met by three several agents of his department, who had been sent forward to exert their influence in exciting the inhabitants of Kohistan to separate themselves from the cause of the Barukzyes. These men now returned in breathless haste, with intelligence which they thought had rendered supererogatory their further endeavours.

They related that the Ameer of Cabool had advanced at the head of his troops to Urghun-dee Bala, which we recognised as the very ground which he had taken up in 1834, when Shah Shooja had successfully penetrated as far as the walls of Candahar. A pretty direct route branches off from it across the mountains to Bamian. The Ameer, however, had on this

occasion declared his intention of not accepting battle on that ground, but of marching forward to Muedan on the Cabool river, amidst the defiles of which valley he had resolved to make a grand effort to check the Feringees. But his purpose, their narrative continued, had soon been shaken by the too manifest indications of an intention on the part of his troops in general, and of the Kuzzilbashes in particular, to desert his standard; he was even said to have had reason to suspect that ever turbulent and factious body of soldiery of having laid a plot to deliver him up to Shah Shooja. The scouts affirmed that at this painful conjuncture the Ameer had not disgraced by pusillanimity the lineage of Futih Khan. He had ridden, they said, with the Kooran in his hand into the midst of his refractory and perfidious troops, and had conjured them by that sacred volume not to desert the true faith, or basely transfer their allegiance to a ruler who had deluged the land with blaspheming Feringees, or, at the least, to save their own reputation and that of their chief by a few hours' honourable resistance. He reminded them of their obligations to himself.

"You have eaten my salt," he said, "these thirteen years. Since it is plain that you are

resolved to seek a new master, grant me but one favour in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness—enable me to die with honour. Stand by the brother of Futih Khan, whilst he executes one charge against the cavalry of those Feringee dogs: in that onset he will fall; then go, and make your own terms with Shah Shooja.” But the Ameer soon discovered that these bold words were wasted upon men, cowardly, or bent up to their treacherous purpose; and making, at last, a virtue of necessity, he came forward, and with a good grace formally gave the Kuzzilbashes their *rookhsat*.* Abandoning his parked artillery, the Barukzye, accompanied by his family, and escorted by about three thousand troops who still remained faithful to him, took the mountain road to Bamian. The most important portion of this intelligence was proved, within twenty-four hours, to be correct, by the arrival at our picquets, of a large portion of the Kuzzilbash force, and of the other soldiers of the Ameer to proffer their homage to the Shah.

But there was now no disposition in our camp to build, according to the maxim of antiquity, a bridge for a flying enemy, as had been virtually done by the indifference evinced

* Dismission, permission to depart.

when the ex-rulers of Candahar were permitted to make their escape across the Helmund. The Commander-in-Chief and Envoy and Minister were equally alive to the importance of securing the person of the able, enterprising, and once popular Ameer. But this was more easily desired than accomplished. The Barukzye had already got more than twelve hours start of his pursuers, as he had left Urghundee on the evening of the 2nd, and the news of his flight did not reach Sheikhabad before the morning of the 3rd. Urghundee was twenty-one miles in advance of our head quarters. To follow the fugitive, therefore, by that route was hopeless. The only chance of coming up with him was afforded by taking the road to the frontier which runs over the mountains from Sheikhabad. But it was to be expected that the country between that place and Bamian would be found most difficult, and all but impracticable, and totally destitute of supplies for an armed body.

The Ameer was described as being still surrounded by a force, small, but composed of desperate men. If an active but trifling detachment was sent after him, it was not unlikely that they might overtake, but be unable to capture him, and even sustain defeat. If a large

body of cavalry were covered in pursuit, it might not be easy to supply their wants in the mountains. Judgments after the event deserve little credit for sagacity; but it seems now sufficiently clear that it would have been wisest to have detached such a force on the duty as could not have failed in capturing the refugee, if it had come in contact with him, although an increase of the strength of the armed body might in some small degree have diminished the celerity of its movements. Another difficulty arose from our imperfect knowledge of the routes. In considering this part of the subject, the thoughts of those in authority turned towards the Kakur renegade. He had been formerly the Governor of Bamian, and as it was supposed that he could not be animated by any sentiment of regard for the flying Ameer, he was selected to be the guide of the expedition. The man who is skilful to do evil is seldom found an effective aid in executing any project which is substantively good. The deliverance of Affghanistan from the dread of a disputed succession was an attempt too beneficial in itself to command the cordial co-operation of the Kakur. Nevertheless, as a pilot he was skilful, if unwilling, and if his functions had been confined entirely to such assistance, and

he had been attached for this purpose alone to the commander of an efficient force of regular cavalry, European and native, perhaps Shah Shooja would now be reigning without a rival over eastern Affghanistan.

But a different plan of pursuit from this was adopted. Captain Outram, Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, one of the most resolute, intelligent, and active officers in the army, was well selected to command Dost Moohummad's pursuers. With him were associated nine officers, all bold and skilful riders, and volunteers in the cause, followed by one hundred and fifty chosen horse, fifty of the 2nd Bengal light cavalry, fifty of the Bengal 4th local, and fifty of the Poonah Auxiliary Horse. To these, one hundred of the Shah's cavalry were afterwards added. But this British and Hindoostanee force was to be backed by the renowned Hajee Khan, at the head of two thousand Affghans. Thus, instead of the Hajee being a mere guide, and pursuing with the noose about his neck, the fortunes of the pursuit were in a great measure placed from the first in the hands of this wily traitor.

He commenced his operations by a suspicious delay. Four, p.m., had been appointed for the turn-out of his Affghans to co-operate with

Captain Outram, an hour sufficiently late, seeing that the intelligence of the flight of the Ameer had reached Sheikhabad at 8, A.M.; but it was not until dark that the Kakur made his appearance at the point of rendezvous; and he then came at the head of only seven hundred men, four hundred of whom were mounted upon *yaboo*s instead of horses. Thus unpromising at the outset was the complexion of this interesting *chupao*. Major Cureton had been in the meantime directed to move forward with two hundred regular cavalry on the road towards Cabool, and if he found things in the state which had been described, to take possession of the enemy's artillery abandoned at Urghundee, and push his reconnoissance up to the very walls of the capital.

On the morning of the 4th, the leading column of the force resumed its route, and made a painful march of nearly twenty miles over a difficult road to Muedan. It passed on its route at intervals large bodies of well armed and well mounted Affghans, who, drawn up in line, calmly awaited the approach of the Shah to place themselves under his banners. They gazed at our army as it passed them, some with serene and unconcerned, many with humbled and desponding, and a few with hostile and

angry looks. The most discerning amongst them might have derived consolation from the reflection, as they viewed our long cavalcade and well appointed artillery, that a protracted resistance could have availed nothing, and would only have prolonged the evils of war without ultimately improving the prospects of their chief.

The sun had become powerful, and the wearied columns had traversed eighteen miles, when, at the sudden opening of a narrow pass the troops found themselves in the valley of Muedan. Here at least the landscape was truly beautiful. The vale is shut in on every side by lofty crags, and through the midst of it the Cabool river winds its course between banks fringed with lofty poplars. Villages and mud forts completed the picture, which was soon enlivened with the moving files of our armament; and when these disappeared from view, was decorated with the white tents glittering in the sun of five thousand soldiers. The troops were on their ground by ten, but throughout the day the wearied baggage animals continued to labour on into the valley.

The moon arose over the mountains upon the silent camp a quarter before two, A.M. At two, a cannon shot was heard, and its reverberation amongst the craggy eminences had not

ceased when trumpet, bugle, and drum, echoing amongst the rocks, summoned all slumberers to the labours of another march, the last but one, as all hoped, before they should reach the capital of Shah Shooja's recovered kingdom. Onward moved the force, and an hour had elapsed since the day broke when it came full upon the abandoned ordnance of the fallen Barukzye. Twenty-two pieces of various calibre; but generally good guns, on field-carriages, superior to those commonly seen in the armies of Asiatic princes, were parked in a circle in the Ameer's late position. Two more were placed in battery in the village of Urghundee, at the foot of the hills. The whole had been, since the evening of the 3rd in the possession of a detachment of the Bombay native cavalry. One hundred and fifty bullocks in the highest condition were attached to this artillery.

It has already been said that the position of Urghundee Bala* is the same which Dost Moohummud took up when alarmed, in 1884, by the ill-fated advance of Shah Shooja to Candahar. The inducement was probably, in both instances, the same—the command of the

* Bala, affixed to the name of the place, gives it the signification of the higher Urghundee. A few miles nearer Cabool is Urghundee Paen, or the Lower Urghundee.

mountain road, which runs off from the right rear upon Bamian, and facility of evasion thereby in case of reverse towards Bokhara. The Ameer would, indeed, if the Kuzzilbashes had remained faithful, have advanced to meet us in the defiles of Muedan. This notion, which we gathered from the reports of the scouts at Sheikhabad, was fully confirmed afterwards by the statements of his nephew, Abdool Rusheed. He might there, on the banks of the Cabool river, have posted his troops strongly, and would have been in less danger of being cut off from the route to Koondooz during the progress of the action. But even at Urghundee Bala cur foe might have shewn a formidable front. A numerous cavalry might have rested their right on the mountains, over which we saw winding the road to Bamian, which marked the path of the fugitive Barukzye.

The route by which we had advanced was flanked by a deep, impracticable ravine, on which the Affghan left would have rested. Here their artillery had been parked, and would probably from this point have swept the open plain, and searched the narrow defile by which we would have debouched upon it. Their front was open for the exertions of a bold and active cavalry, and here the Ameer might at least

have died with honour. Confining our views to secondary causes, we may say, without presumption, that he would have been defeated; for, before our two brigades of cavalry should have charged him and his guns in front, a well-served artillery would have carried death into the ranks of horse and foot; and during the continuance of this rough overture, seven regiments of stout infantry, the same which had triumphed at Ghuznee, now covered by a rising ground that would have masked their march, might have won their way without loss, though perhaps slowly, behind the mountains to the extreme right, debouched in column near Urghundee Bala, on the right rear of the astonished Barukzye, deployed and stormed the village, cut off the chief's retreat to Bamian, and jeopardized his whole right. Then our cavalry, charging across the plains in their front, would have decided the conflict. But these exploits are the visions of the imagination. Dost Moohummud Khan, like another Darius,

"Deserted in his utmost need,
By those his former bounty fed,"

has tasted the bitterness of helpless, though not perhaps, the circumstances of defection considered, ignominious flight; and even if favoured so far as to enter in safety the territories of

Moorad Beg, the Meer of Kondoos, will have there the additional mortification of appearing in the guise of a fugitive, if not a suppliant, before a treacherous and unwilling vassal of his forfeited authority. The Barukzye is accompanied by Moohummud Ukhbar, the boldest and most talented of his sons, who, recalled to his aid from the defence of the Khyber against Colonel Wade, is now said to be sinking under disease.

Our camp was fixed on the 5th at Urghundee Paeen, four miles in advance of the higher village of the same name, in a truly splendid plain. The sides of the mountains on the right and left were covered with verdant inclosures of fruit trees, the only wood, excepting the poplar and willow, to be found in this part of Afghanistan. Peaches, the largest we had ever seen, excepting the produce of the hot houses of England, were brought to our tents, with small, but ripe and juicy pears. We could scarcely believe that such fruits had been grown on standard trees, without the factitious aids of scientific culture, which are in Asia unknown. Information was this morning received that the fugitive Ameer had been delayed in his flight by the sickness of his son; and Captain Taylor, the fortunate captor of Moohummud Hyder

Khan, was permitted to lead in pursuit of him: a small reinforcement of horse, accompanied by Lieutenant Trevor, of the 3rd light cavalry. These officers took the road across the mountains from Urghundee-Bala. From the valley of this day's encampment we for the first time obtained a glimpse of one of the lower ranges of Hindoo-Koosh, covered with perpetual snow.

Breaking up on the 6th from Urghundee-Bala, we won our way over as bad roads as we had yet marched upon to Nanuchee, two miles and a half from the capital. Here we found a succession of forts, larger than those of the Ghiljee country, but otherwise resembling them, surrounded with poplars and fruit trees. Though encamped so near to Cabool, a range of heights entirely excluded the view of the suburbs from the infantry divisions. The cavalry and force of the Shah were, for the present, on the road from Nanuchee, somewhat nearer to the city. The monarch was encamped close to Killa Moommud Jaffier. On the evening of the 7th he proposed to make his solemn, if we may not say triumphal, entry into his capital.

At 3, P.M., all was ready for the royal progress from Nanuchee to the Bala Hissar. However the principles of Shah Shooja may stand the

test of sudden elevation, surely the epithets memorable and auspicious are not wasted upon this event. It is not a small thing to have succeeded in establishing British influence in the place of Barukzye misrule on the right bank of the Indus even for an hour. Two squadrons of European and one of native cavalry were destined to escort the Shah to his palace, and a portion of the artillery of both Presidencies was stationed at proper points to announce the royal approach by salutes of ordnance. But it was felt that military display must partially lose its interest in a scene like this. The moral feeling of the occasion must either be a nonentity, or far surpass every emotion which external display could excite.

Here was an Asiatic monarch, the descendant of monarchs, given back by a strange providence to his people after thirty years of exile and varied vicissitudes, through the instrumentality of a nation, the capital of which was fourteen thousand miles distant from Cabool. It was surely a matter worthy of observation to mark how the sovereign would comport himself, and how his subjects would receive him. The King on this occasion was not, as usual, borne along in his *nalkee*; he rode a handsome white Caboolee charger, decorated with equip-

ments mounted with gold, in the Asiatic fashion. He wore the jewelled coronet of velvet in which he always appears in public, and an *ulā-halik* of dark cloth, ornamented on the arms and breast with a profusion of precious stones, whilst his waist was encircled with a broad and cumbrous girdle of gold, in which glittered rubies and emeralds not a few. It was impossible not to recollect, as the eye glanced on them, that the *koḥ-i-noor*,* which ought on this day to have shone out in all its splendour, is still in the casket of a Sikh usurper at Lahore.

The Shah was accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, by the Envoy and Minister, and Sir Alexander Burnes, the two latter in full diplomatic costume. In describing a pageant for the information of English country gentlemen, it is necessary to specify that this dress consists of a cocked hat fringed with ostrich feathers, a blue frock coat with raised buttons, richly embroidered on the collar and cuffs, epaulettes not yielding in splendour to those of a field-marshal, and trowsers edged with very broad gold lace. Two of the king's sons were in the *sunwarree*. Moohummud Ukhbar rode,

* A celebrated diamond of that name, which signifies the "mountain of light." It was cruelly extorted from Shah Shooja in the day of his adversity by Runjeet Singh.

plainly habited, under the tutelage of Captain Macgregor, assistant to the Envoy, and the little Shapoor was at his father's side. The major-generals, brigadiers, and the whole of the departmental and personal staff of both Presidencies, with all the officers politically employed, were in attendance; and let me not forget to record that Moonshee Mohun Lall, a traveller and an author, as well as his talented master, appeared on horseback on this occasion in a new upper garment of very gay colours, and under a turban of very admirable fold and majestic dimensions, and was one of the gayest as well as the most sagacious and successful personages in the whole *cortège*.

The cavalcade had to traverse nearly three miles of rocky and very dusty road, the rays of the sun being at the time very inconveniently brilliant and fervid. The monarch enduring this for his people's sake, and we for his Majesty's, passed on. On our left, we saw in the plains little eminences, crowded with forts and towers, which looked exactly like those of the Ghiljees seen through a magnifying glass. But it was not until we nearly approached the town that we perceived wherein the true beauty of the site of Cabool consists. Above us, indeed, on our right, was only a bare mountain crowned

with an almost useless wall, but in the vale below were stretched out to such an extent that the eye vainly endeavoured to reach the boundaries of them, the far-famed orchards of Cabool.

A glorious sight they must be in spring, when crowned with blossoms, glorious in summer, when laden with their golden fruits; and now, in autumn, when their products are enriching the bazars of the city, yet covered with leaves of every shade of green they are not less than glorious; and must still be a glorious spectacle even when, denuded by the blasts of winter of their verdure as now of their fruitage, they are bowed down by the snows of a Cabool December. Under the trees of these inclosures grow Indian corn, and onions, leeks, cabbages, red and white carrots, the *buengun* (Indian egg plant, *solanum melonganum*), water and rock melons, and a great variety of cucurbitous plants, and, above all, beet root, of a size never seen in Europe. These will prove a valuable acquisition to our troops, so long strangers to a wholesome vegetable diet. The potatoe is not found in these gardens. British influence, the honour of which is concerned in the naturalization of that esculent in Affghanistan, is yet in its cradle at Cabool.

Onward the procession moved, and shortly after were seen before it in the valley the houses of a vast suburb interspersed with spreading and lofty trees, and overlooked by the capacious but unpretending dome of the mausoleum of Timour Shah, the weak and irresolute prince who knew not how to sustain the national edifice which the genius of his father had erected. We crossed the river by a paltry bridge, and were soon closely wedged together in narrow streets, which had been choked before we arrived with the dense files of the Affghan population. Never was any town seen more closely thronged by men; of women, glimpses only could be caught as they peeped furtively from the tops of houses. The extent of the population, and the eagerness of all ranks to behold the spectacle, was as apparent in the few open spaces of the city as in the narrow lanes, the passages of the covered bazars, and on the bridge of the clear and rapid Cabool river. An ocean of heads was spread out in every direction. They were for the most part cleanly, and becomingly turbaned. The features of the spectators were generally comely, and all lighted up with the emotion of curiosity. The Affghans are, like other Moohammudans, grave, sedate, and slow in their demeanour.

We did not hear on this occasion within the walls of Cabool the noisy acclamations of a British or an Athenian mob, but the expression of countenances indicated ready acquiescence, or something more, in the new state of things.

My conviction is, that the prevailing feeling was not one of much personal affection for Shah Shooja, who will probably as a ruler be less popular than the ex-Ameer; but then and afterwards there were the clearest manifestations of public satisfaction at having got rid of the exactions and oppressions (*zoolm*) of the Barukzye dominion, and of delight at receiving any king at the hands and under the auspices of the *Un-greeze Feringees*, whose character for substantive equity has widely overspread Central Asia.

It has been said that the people did not shout at the sight of their monarch; let it not, however, be supposed that noise formed no part of this *rentrée joyeuse*. The procession had now reached the termination of a long bazar, and saw before it the western gateway of the Bala Hissar and its loop-holed towers and bastions. As we prepared to pass its dry moat, a body of Affghan horse, carried away by curiosity and unbidden zeal to be present at the ceremony, broke in upon the line of our progress, which

had not indeed been conducted before with much regularity, and filled our ranks with the wildest uproar. As we passed the outward gate, the royal *noubut khānu* above it made the fortress echo with its instrumental *din*. A long street of shops between the outer and inner portal had then to be traversed. On arriving at the latter, the Shah's corps of *Zumboorukchees*, which he took into his service at Bhawulpore, were seen posted on either side of the entrance. As the royal cavalcade entered, a deafening fire was kept up by this small artillery, whilst the Affghan cavalry horses plunged, and bolted off with their riders in every direction.

Arrived in the inner court, the monarch first visited the great garden of the palace, in which are two really handsome and pleasant pavilions. A clear stream runs from a fountain at the upper end of the highly walled inclosure, and the walks, terraces, and parterres are laid out in by no means bad taste. This is the place of retirement and seclusion of the ruler in his hours of leisure, and was a favourite resort of the fallen Ameer. It has since been converted into the British Residency.

The Shah next repaired to the palace itself, which occupies the northern side of the fortress. It is lofty, and the apartments are not devoid of

comfort, and even some shew of magnificence. But the Barukzye had permitted it to fall into a shameful state of dilapidation. Shah Shooja, ascending the great staircase, ran with childish eagerness from one small chamber to another of the well-remembered abode of royalty, deplored aloud the neglect and damage which was everywhere visible, and particularly lamented the removal of the panels of mirror from the *sheeshu-muhul*.* He then ascended to the *bala-khamu*,† and surveyed with the most lively satisfaction the prospect in the direction of Kohistan, now brought once more within his rule. If it would have been impossible to have withheld our sympathy from a peasant restored to the cottage of his father and grandfather after a thirty years' ejectment, it was surely not easy to stifle all

* The Moohummedans thus name their apartments, the walls of which are covered with squares of mirror conjoined by gold or silver frame-work.

† In the palace and garden retreat many courtesies and pleasantries passed on this day between the monarch and Sir Willoughby Cotton, whom his Majesty has always distinguished by a large share of his attention on all public occasions, particularly at the review at Shikarpore, and the grand durbar at Candahar. Nor has his kindness been confined to empty compliments, for when the General lay on a couch of sickness in the western capital, his Majesty was most assiduous in his inquiries, and almost daily sent, with an apparent kindness which enhanced their value, presents of fruit, ice, &c., during the period of his convalescence.

emotion, when we, who had watched Shah Shooja's course from Loodiana, now at length saw him resume possession of the royal *muhul* in the Bala Hissar, and remembered that, in the interval since he had last paced its halls, he had not only dragged on existence in a foreign land, a pensioner and an exile, but had become familiar with want and houseless wandering, with defeats, persecutions, imprisonments, and even personal indignities. The Commander-in-Chief, and all the superior officers of the army, after offering their respectful congratulations, left his Majesty within the fortress, under the walls of which his contingent had already begun to rear their tents.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. I have freely spoken of the military error of leaving at Candahar the siege train of the army, when it might have been required to aid in the reduction of two strongholds; for besides that the fortress of Ghuznee lay between the British force and the capital, the Bala Hissar, which is the citadel of Cabool, though its ramparts, like its palace, have suffered from neglect, and are besides under command from at least two adjacent points, might yet have been put in such a state of defence, before its foes could

have sat down before it, as would have rendered it desirable to bring against its walls heavier pieces than those of mere field artillery. This fault has been excused on the double ground of deficiency of means of transport, and of the information of the political department having constantly forbid the military commander to expect any hostile resistance after marching from Candahar. It was, at all events, promptly and brilliantly retrieved. The conception and execution of the attack of Ghuznee were alike masterly and soldier-like, and it is not adopting the language of adulation or hyperbole to characterize the capture of this place as the most spirited, skilful, and successful *coup-de-main* on record in the annals of British India. The device of blowing in the gate, though not exempt from risk of failure, was far preferable to an escalade, under the circumstances of the case, whilst the fire of the place remained entire, and its defences uninjured; and when this mode and single point of attack had been selected, the disposition of the artillery, the choice of troops and leaders, the partition of the force with a view to common support, the timing of the moment of assault, and of the false attack, the arrangement to intercept fugitives, and to meet and confound any attempt to interrupt the

progress of the enterprise, were all admirable, creditable to the skill, and indicative of the coolness, resolution, and self-possession of the commander, and well deserving of the signal success of the sequel.

The strength of the fortress had been much underrated before the British invested it. Party feeling has since exalted or decried its importance as has best suited its purpose. The judgment of our chief engineer is based on solid science and careful observation. His estimate, as far as it goes, may be taken as a safe guide in our search after historic truth. He has described Ghuznee as environed by a rampart, built on a scarped mound, above thirty-five feet in height, the altitude of the parapet above the level of the plain being from sixty to seventy feet. He considered that the irregular figure of its *enceinte* presented a good flanking fire from numerous towers, and that the height of the citadel neutralized the advantage to assailants of the command of the hills to the northward, protecting from their fire the interior of the place. A *fausse braye* encircled the main wall; the ditch had been cleared out, and was filled with water, believed not to be fordable, and an out-work, as has been seen, enfiladed the bed

of the Logur, the stream of which gave additional strength to the fortification on that side.

2°. Moohummud Hyder Khan and his Affghans displayed boldness and vigilance in the defence of their fortress. Their most desperate efforts were certainly those to which terror urged them, when, under its influence, two bodies of them attempted to break away by the Cabool gate; but the contest, at the same point, with the forlorn hope, under Colonel Dennie, was creditably maintained, and the panic which ensued appears to have been mainly attributable to all their calculations being baffled by the unexpected character of the blow aimed against them. There is reason to believe that, from the moment the fire of the false attack opened, the ramparts were everywhere manned, and preparations made to repel an escalade on every point of the circumference; but the garrison was thunderstruck when it saw a portion of the defences suddenly prostrated by a contrivance of which their experience did not enable them to form any notion; and when the spring-tide of combatants poured at once from the gate full upon the citadel, the defenders upon the ramparts found themselves taken in reverse, and saw no hope but in concealment or flight. It

cannot escape remark, that the affair might have assumed altogether a different aspect, if the Affghans had taken the obvious precaution of cutting away the bridge of communication with the Cabool gate, as soon as the British approached the place. How is their neglect to be accounted for? It is said that the garrison expected a reinforcement. But could they have formed the presumptuous hope of breaking through our investment, after our camp had been fixed to the northward? It seems probable that the prospect of succour might have induced them to leave the bridge untouched on the 21st, and that they afterwards omitted to destroy it, partly from their ignorance of any other mode of attack than regular siege or escalade, and partly from the spirit of procrastination inseparable from the Asiatic character, mingled perhaps with the dread of exposing their working parties, after we had once completed our bold circuit to the northward.

3°. In judging of the measures of Dost Moohummud Khan, it is always to be remembered that he had worthless and faithless tools to work withal. An inference unfavourable to his reputation has been drawn by some from the circumstance of his having twice taken up a position at Urghundee Bala, once in 1834, when

Shah Shooja was threatening Candahar, and again in 1839, when the British were advancing towards Cabool. The fact is remarkable, and, as regards the combinations of the latter period, has given rise to the imputation that the Ameer's calculations were, from the moment that his states were assailed, too much based on considerations of personal security. But this conclusion appears to be hasty and injurious.

It is true that the Barukzye finally used the line to Bamian merely as an outlet for the escape of himself and his family. But when the British had advanced beyond Ghuznee, his situation, in a military point of view, was most critical. Colonel Wade was advancing steadily, though slowly, by the Khybur route, and the Ameer had found it necessary to withdraw from that line of defence the mass of his infantry under Moohummud Ukhbar, which joined him by forced marches at Urghundee. The tenure of his capital was compromised. Sir John Keane and Colonel Wade were marching upon it in opposite directions, and had left him no line of retreat, excepting across the Hindoo Koosh; and it would have been possible for the former, when he reached Sheikhabad, to have sent a turning force round by the route of Logur, and Khoord Cabool, which would have de-

bouched to the eastward of Bootkhak, and screwed the Ameer in a vice, if he had retained any position nearer his capital than that which he actually assumed. The meer of Koondooz was his tributary; the king of Bokhara was supposed to be friendly to him. It will be difficult therefore to shew that he acted strategically wrong in taking up a position at Urghundee.

It was his intention thence to have advanced to Muedan, and there he would at least have fought a battle with a line open to him, by which he might have operated a retreat on Koondooz, and eventually on Bulkh and Bokhara. *He thus in fact took Independent Tartary for the basis of his future operations, purposing to retire upon his tributaries and allies.* It arose from circumstances which he could not control that he had afterwards to trace the route to Bamian as a fugitive, instead of at the head of an army. He appears more liable to censure for not having completed in time the repairs of the Bala Hissar, and left a garrison in it to overawe the capital and protract resistance. It would have been at least as difficult for him to have retired by the pass of the Hindoo Koosh, which leads to Goree, as by the line of Bamian; and he might have been cut off even from the

latter route, if his purpose had been anticipated, and a force sent on promptly from Ghuznee by the defiles afterwards ascended by Captain Outram. *But it will be remembered that the notion of the retreat of the Ameer into Koondooz by Bamian was treated in the British camp as visionary, until the receipt at Sheikhabad of the intelligence of his flight proved that it had been founded on a just estimate of the circumstances of the campaign, and character of the man.*

4°. When authentic accounts had reached our head-quarters of the flight of the Ameer, and the direction which he had taken, it was felt that the possession of his person was of the utmost importance to the consolidation of the Dooranee empire. The task of pursuing him was properly confided to one of the most active and energetic officers in the service of the Indian government. It is only to be regretted that he was not accompanied by a force which might have been justly esteemed, under any circumstances, capable of defeating the Ameer's followers, and that the functions of the Kakur chief were not restricted to the duties of a guide, instead of his appearing in the character of a most dangerous ally, at the head of an Affghan contingent, numerically superior to the body of our own troops detached on the expedition.

But even under such more favourable arrangements, the capture of the fugitive would have been an event rather to be desired than expected. He had a long start of his pursuers, on a mountain road.

5°. It is not possible to withhold approbation from the motive of sparing the effusion of blood, and a desire, even after war was declared, of mitigating its evils, and diminishing as far as possible the amount of human suffering. It was wise, as well as merciful, in the British government to instruct its political functionaries, whilst labouring to restore Shah Shooja, to rely greatly on moral means, and to aim at presenting him to his subjects as the object of their rightful allegiance, rather than to force him upon them by extreme measures of warlike coercion. But this principle might be acted upon to a dangerous extent, and it is not to be doubted that when the haughty and untractable Affghans saw us on our route to Candahar and Ghuznee scattering presents and *jageers* in our path, they adopted the insolent notion that we were a rich, but feeble and effeminate people, who could corrupt with gold, but knew not how to bring into subjection by the sword; and under this conviction, and a knowledge of the nature of our bargain, they must have smiled to

see us pay in gold mohurs for every hair in the beard of the traitor Hajee Khan. The affair of Ghuznee dispelled this illusion; "the posture of our blows" was from that moment known, and our military character appreciated; and the soldiers of Dost Moohummud Khan began to doubt whether, for the sake of upholding the cause of an usurper, it was worth while to risk another conflict with troops that had been seen to make themselves masters in two hours of the strongest fortress of the land.

CHAPTER III.

Cabool — Its fruit-bazars and shops — Monument of Sool-tan Baber — Abundance in the British camps — Pursuit and escape of the Ex-Ameer — Murder of Lieutenant Colonel Herring — Opening of the Kyber Pass — Affair of Kooloo-joo — Arrangements for the military occupation of Affghanistan — Head-quarters of the army of the Indus moved from Cabool towards the Indus — Insurrection of the Khyberrees — Sanguinary defeat of the Nujeebs — Peshawur — skirmishes with the Khyberrees — Observations.

AFTER admiring and deploring as chorus to the king all that was splendid, venerable, or dilapidated in the Bala Hissar, the military party returned to their camp as fast as their horses could carry them over a slippery pavement, and long, narrow, and winding streets, obstructed at intervals by the strange fashion of building across them gates with high wooden thresholds, and through densely crowded bazars. In these last the shops forcibly attracted our attention.

First we gazed with admiration on those on which were exposed for sale the products of the

orchards. There were to be seen grapes of five different kinds—a small blue, a long blue, a long white, a middle sized blue, and a lesser white grape, which might more properly be called yellow, the bunches of which please the eye as much as they delight the palate. There too, unknown in Hindostan, were apples of a brilliant rosy red; and green as well as yellow pears, both sorts being ripe and juicy, together with peaches and melons in rich profusion. The Affghans distinguish the latter, of which there are many varieties, into “*surd*,” cold, meaning the several species of water melon, and “*gurm*,” hot, under which head they class the sweeter kinds. They use “*Khurboozu*” as a generic name, and “*Shukkurboozu*,” to designate, I believe, a small and luscious sort of musk melon. Amateurs in our army considered some of the specimens of this fruit, as it is grown with little care in the orchards and fields of Affghanistan, superior in flavour to the melons of our native land, reared under all the advantages of the most elaborate horticulture. They reckoned the most delicious a kind unknown in England, of which the pulp and seeds, as well as the rind, were of a light green hue.

Besides these fruits, there were for sale almonds, pistachio nuts, walnuts, quinces, small

black cherries, and red and white mulberries. These, with all the vegetables that were enumerated in a former chapter, arranged to the best advantage in the open fronts of a hundred houses, made up a display which rivalled, if it did not surpass, the wealth of Pomona, as exhibited in the markets of the British capital. Intermixed with these *dookans* (shops) were those of the manufacturers of *shumsheers* and *peeshekubzes*, with scabbards and belts, of black, green, and Russian leather; of artists who fabricate shields and chain armour; and book-binders, who make very respectable covers for the manuscript copies of the Persian poets and historians.

The butchers' shambles wore an air of peculiar neatness. Pieces of fat mutton neatly cut up were there offered to the choice of customers transfixed upon the spikes of an iron framework. Public ovens were seen, out of which busy bakers were drawing loaves made up in the European fashion, as well as the more favoured cakes, in which the inhabitants of Cabool and Candahar delight. Though raised by a leaven slightly acid, they are yet neither unpalatable nor unwholesome. By the side of these necessities of life were seen a variety of useful commodities. Earthen pots were set out in great varieties of form: there were pots to strain, to keep cool,

and to scatter water; and for drinking and smelling, sherbet, and *shikunjubeen*, and *uttur*. In other shops were several kinds of cloths, of Affghan, Persian, and Russian manufacture; and cloaks and half-cloaks, called *poshteens*, and *neem-asteens* of well-cured sheep-skins. The furriers have also for sale ermine, sable, and delicate black lamb-skins. Of these last are made the celebrated Kuzzilbash caps, which are of a conical form, and decorated at the top with a small piece of pendant red cloth or velvet, or sometimes of brocade.

Little sets of very pretty China and of Dresden porcelain were laid out to tempt purchasers in the outer apartments of the houses of these traders, whilst in their secret recesses are to be found very handsome and costly shawls, *push-meenas*, *puttoo*,* the last of a better fabric than the production of the same kind manufactured in India, and well-wrought but gaudy silks, precious stones neatly cut and engraved in Persian characters, tea imported by way of Bokhara, and carpets made at Yuzd.

These, and many other articles of use and luxury, are offered for sale, according to law; and unfortunately for the morals of our soldiery at Cabool, though not at Ghuznee, is vended se-

* A kind of coarse and warm woollen cloth.

cretly a fiery spirit distilled from the grape. The preparation of this noxious stimulant is chiefly in the hands of a colony of Armenians, formerly numerous, but now reduced to about twenty families. A laudable decree of Dost Moohummud Khan interdicted this traffic altogether. I am not aware that Shah Shooja has formally repealed the regulation, as regards the consumption of his own subjects; but our commissariat, soon after our arrival, completed a contract with the Armenians for the supply of the troops with Cabool spirit in the place of Indian rum. Our soldiers had even before this found their way to the haunts of clandestine dealers in this baneful, but seductive beverage; and it is to be feared that the Affghans, like other nations invaded by our armies, will soon be taught the difference between Britons drunk and Britons sober. How strange are the contradictions in human character, and between the conduct of men and their outward professions! Dost Moohummud Khan, a usurper and reformed drunkard, during the latter years of his reign, restrained intemperance by law in conformity with the dogmas of his Koran. The armies of a nation professedly Christian replace the rightful sovereign on the *musnud*. The means of intemperance become once more plentiful in Cabool, the manufac-

turers of its spirituous liquors being the only Asiatics in Affghanistan who call themselves Christians.

Cabool is built on a plain at the foot of two mountain ranges, and, with the exception of a suburb, lies on the right bank of the clear and rapid, but shoal river, to which it gives a name. At the roots of the most eastern of the two hills, which form the natural shelter of the city, is seen the Bala Hissar, at once the royal palace and fortress of this capital. The citadel of the place is perched on an eminence above it, overlooking, not only the fastness itself, but the level all around it, and commanding the buildings stretched out at its foot. It is remarkable that in this smaller and loftier fort a brother of Dost Moohummud built a palace, since abandoned, to which he gave the name of "Koollah-i-Feringee," or "European Hat," an ominous designation for an eminence, on which there is now a guard of English soldiers and the hospital of the 13th light infantry.

The Bala Hissar is an irregular pentagon, and, from its *enceinte*, an old and battlemented wall, constructed of sun-dried bricks mingled with stones, runs up and down the sides and along the summits of the two mountains above mentioned, thus forming the *shuhurpunah*, or bul-

wark of Cabool. One extremity of this extensive inclosure rests, as has been intimated, on the royal citadel; the other comes down upon a suburb in the level on the road from Nanuchee, by which we first approached Cabool. In descending into the valley between the two lofty ranges, it crosses the Cabool river, and the main route from Candahar, from which we had diverged in our lateral movement from Sheikhabad to Muedan, and on which we were encamped shortly after the occupation of the capital.

The pass between the mountains is, at the point of intersection, narrow and defensible, and matchlock men might occupy with effect the mouldering battlements on either flank of the approach. But the defile can be turned by the road to Nanuchee; and from any point on that route, columns moving to their left may traverse the open and defenceless side of the city to the northward, and establish themselves on heights which overlook all but the upper fort of the Bala Hissar, and upon the road from Bootkhak to the eastward of the city, which leads to the Khyber and Peshawur. Such a movement would evidently take in reverse the whole line of the mountain wall. In short, although this range of castellated mountain is

nearly four miles in extent, and would therefore demand powerful battalia for its adequate defence, it yet leaves open an entire side of the capital which it was devised to protect.

There is no reason, however, why Ameer Dost Moohummud or any of his captains might not have made a stout defence at Cabool, as Moohummud Hyder Khan had dared to do at Ghuznee. The old wall on the mountain sides is indeed a puerile defence, because it becomes utterly useless the instant it is turned at Nanuchee, or the pass forced near Baber's tomb. Thus driven from his line of entrenchments, the Ameer must therefore have shut himself up in the Bala Hissar. The walls, as abandoned to us, were certainly much out of repair, but large quantities of brick had been collected in the eastern valley, and the labours of a population estimated at sixty thousand persons might soon have rendered the defences respectable. Already every gate had, as at Ghuznee, been closed with masonry, excepting that handsome one which leads to Lahore and the opposite portal, by which the monarch entered on the day of his triumphal progress.

The profile of the walls of the place is lofty, the towers and curtains are as well disposed as in most Asiatic fortresses, and a broad stagnant

moat runs round the place, which a few strokes of the spade would have filled with water. The ditch is also, as at Ghuznee, defended by a *fausse braye*. There is a little town within the walls of the fortress, the houses of which, if the inhabitants were excluded, and grain collected in them, would form tolerable barracks, and inexhaustible storehouses. A part of the lower works are, as has been intimated, under command from heights to the northward, but at a much greater distance than that at which Moommud Hyder Khan's citadel was seen. A force established on the mountain to the southward would also overlook even the loftier towers of the upper fort; but the labour of forming a battery on so lofty and precipitous an elevation would not be a light one. It is not, at the same time, to be forgotten that the streets and bazars of the city, running up to the very counterscarp of the western ditch, afford a considerable facility for a favourable lodgment on that side. But, after all, here again was a fortress on which we could not have reasonably hoped to make an impression without the aid of a siege train, if it had been properly garrisoned and stoutly defended.

Once seized, the town of Candahar was easily kept, not only against external enemies, but in

spite of the efforts of popular insurrection. For the Charsoo was central, and heavy guns placed there would have swept its straight streets up to each of the four principal gates. Its citadel also had a commanding interior front, and a hostile populace would in vain have sought refuge in the remoter portions of any of the quarters of the town, whilst its lofty rampart, from which the tops of the houses were commanded, was manned with troops. The case would be different at Cabool. Though it is by far the finer city of the two, many of its streets are winding and thrown off from each other at oblique and uncertain angles, and some of them are so narrow that hardly by any effort could artillery be dragged over their defective pavement. Here then all depends, in a military point of view, on a firm hold of the Bala Hissar. It is the key of Cabool. The troops who hold it ought not to suffer themselves to be dislodged but by a siege; and they must awe its populace with their mortars and howitzers; for, in a land where every male has in his house, or about his person, a musket and long bayonet, which last, a fit emblem of the state of the land, is constructed so as never to unfix, a sword and shield, a dagger, a pistol, or a musketoon, a contest in crooked lanes of flat-roofed houses

with a population estimated at sixty thousand souls, would be unequal, excepting for very numerous forces indeed; in any case injudicious.

The Cabool river flows through the city; but so as to have on the right bank the great mass of its buildings, two-thirds of its *shuhurpunah*, the monument of Timour Shah, the Chundawul, and the principal bazars. On the left are only suburbs, gardens, the detached mansions of some Affghan noblemen, and one of the two intrenched mountains which guard the capital. The stream is rapid and clear, but not more than between thirty and forty yards in width. It is crossed in and near the town by four convenient, but not handsome, bridges.

The mausoleum of the father of Shah Shooja is a lofty octagonal edifice of brickwork, surmounted with a dome, conspicuous from many parts of the city, and surrounded with mulberry groves. The chief bazar is styled the Char-chutta. It consists of four divisions of broad and lofty arcade, constructed with solidity, and plastered over and painted in fresco, under which, on both sides of a passage, crowded perpetually not only with human beings, but with horses, camels, and even elephants, goods of

various descriptions, silks, furs, jewellery, earthenware, embroidery, shawls, *pushmeen*s, carpets, skull-caps, Kuzzilbash *koollus* (hats), furs, and *roomals* (handkerchiefs), are exposed for sale. These really splendid cloisters are said to have been formerly adorned with fountains; but if ever completed, they have been allowed to fall into decay. The basins into which the waters might have played now alone remain.

The next bazar in point of magnitude and wealth is a long covered street, which leads from the Western gate of the Bala Hissar. Here articles of food, and delicacies to please the palate, are to be procured, whilst the Char-chutta is more exclusively set apart for apparel. The bookbinders, sword-cutlers, ironmongers, and workers in leather, chiefly inhabit a street which runs from the Peshawur gate of the city up to the great bazar. The articles which generally strike a stranger as most curious in the shops of those artisans are the very neat *chagools*, or leathern bottles, which are made to carry water at the saddle bow in long journeys, the whips with lacquered handles, the snuffboxes, in shape like those in which pounce is contained in Europe, and the large iron pots, in which all the people of Central Asia delight in spoiling

tea, the blandest restorative in all nature's productions, by boiling it up with *ghee* (clarified butter), and salt.

Nearly all the houses of all classes are built of sun-dried brick; many have wooden fronts and balconies. The cold is excluded, and light admitted, by windows, or sliding lattices of the same material, constructed in a workman-like way, and sometimes edged with a kind of trellis work, very neatly finished. Glazing is almost unknown. When Sir Alexander Burnes improved the house in which he resided in the city, he gave light to its wooden sashes by the introduction of a number of Russian looking-glasses, from which he had caused the quicksilver to be scraped, an ingenious contrivance, which rendered his apartments more cheerful than even the royal pavilions in the garden of the Bala Hissar. I cannot give a better notion of the houses of the Ameers and people of distinction than by describing that of the Nuwab Jubbar Khan. He had accompanied his fallen brother beyond Hindoo Koosh, and his mansion was set apart as a residence for Sir Wilmoughby Cotton, though circumstances prevented the General from taking possession of it during the year 1839.

It was situated in a narrow and dirty lane.

From its great gate access was gained by a long and dark passage into a square court, three sides of which consisted of the two-storied dwelling-house, which has a flat-roofed *bala-khanu*, used by Asiatics for purposes of recreation at all seasons, and for slumber in the hot weather. The front of this mansion was plastered, and tastefully painted with devices. It had doors, windows, floors, and staircases of wood, and might contain some forty small apartments, easily divisible into five separate tenements, besides a bath, a kitchen (strange to say) on the first floor, and a kind of wooden cage for the ladies of the *zunanu* on the *bala-khanu*. There was a well in the centre of the court-yard, which was planted in parterres with *gool-i-abbas* (*mirabilis jalapa*), and other flowers. The residence was in charge of a shrewd old Syud, a native of Peshawur, who boasted of having been thirty years in the service of his master. Near it was a stable, which would accommodate a score of horses under good cover, and as many mules or camels in its area. Most of the houses of the people of distinction have court-yards and gardens attached to them. The mosques are numerous and well frequented, but have no pretensions to splendour.

There were two adventurers of British and

American extraction attached to Dost Moohummud previously to our occupation of his capital. Of these, Campbell had formerly been in the service of the Company, and had been afterwards employed with the invading force of Shah Shooja in 1834. He behaved with great bravery in the action under the walls of Candahar, but was wounded and taken prisoner, a circumstance which led to the panic flight of his royal master. He next followed the fortunes of the Barukzyes; was in favour, for some time, with the Ameer of Cabool, and resided in the *Boorj-i-Wuzereeh*, a fortified house and garden in the suburbs of the capital on the margin of the river, once inhabited by the celebrated Futih Khan. Before the British had reached Ghuznee, Campbell was sent across the Hindoo Koosh by order of Dost Moohummud, under Affghan *surveillance*. Harland, the American, belonged to the medical profession, and was treated with unmerited severity by the Ameer previously to his flight from Urghundee. We found him in Cabool when we took possession of it.

Here I may mention the unexplained existence of a small tombstone near the Lahore gate, purporting to mark the spot where repose the remains of one Thomas Hicks, and bearing

date 1666. Who was Thomas Hicks?* No one in our army could satisfactorily answer the question. But it is hardly to be doubted that he was a British subject, who had penetrated to Cabool before Forster, Joseph Woolf, or Lieutenant Burnes. Who erected his monument, and wrote its inscription in English? A surviving companion and countryman alone could have done this. The Affghan cemeteries and monumental slabs are very like our own, and the sculptors of Cabool engrave well in the Persian character both on tombstones and cornelian signets; but they could not execute an English inscription without British assistance. To whom, then, were the ashes of Thomas Hicks indebted for the "*munus inane*" of sepulture and memorial? The legend looks like the dictation of an illiterate English comrade, or relative, to an Affghan artist.

In the Armenian burying-ground, to the south-eastward of the Bala Hissar, are a great many grave stones with inscriptions in that language, though the members of this little colony of distillers all speak Persian. Their monumental tablets are universally, I think, horizontal; those of the Affghans are disposed perpen-

* See Appendix.

dicularly. The streets of Cabool are crowded to excess from sunrise to sunset with males of all classes, a great proportion of whom carry arms for their personal protection. Few of the women make their appearance abroad, and those who do so are completely enveloped in the long white veil, called *boorku*. It has eyelet and breathing holes, but so entirely shrouds the person as to give the form moving under it the appearance of a walking mummy. Not a glimpse can be obtained of either the features or the shape. I am assured, however, that common report has not spoken too highly of the beauty of the women of Cabool. Its men are generally tall and handsome. Pooshtoo is certainly much spoken here, especially in the villages; but it is not, as in the western capital, the most common medium of intercourse in the bazars and streets. All classes in the city appear to converse in Persian as in their mother tongue, and if inferior to that of Iran, the dialect is far purer than any to which the army of the Indus had before listened.

The little cemetery which contains the ashes of the philosophic yet romantic ruler, Sooltan Baber, is situated at the foot of one of the turreted mountains which protect the city to the westward, and not far from the point of con-

fluence of a tributary stream which flows down from the southward into the Cabool river. When our camps were pitched on the Candahar road, it was necessary to strike into a byepath, and ford one river, and cross the other by a stone bridge, in order to reach the monument. The country hereabout consists of fields of rice and clover planted with groves, and hedgerows of willow and mulberry, and invested with all the charms of sylvan beauty. A sharp turn brings the visitor to the ruins of a palace, whence he proceeds into a grove of poplars, the height, foliage, and girth of which entitle them to be classed as magnificent forest trees. The rocks here begin to peep through the dark soil, and on a promontory formed by the picturesque crags at the foot of the mountain is perched a small stone summer-house, which is visible many miles off in the plains toward Candahar. A fine cascade of clear water gushing over an artificial mound of loose stones, compacted with mortar, gives animation to the picture. Near this stands a white marble temple, of simple, but pleasing architecture. On the entablature is a Persian inscription,* and in a little garden enclosure beyond it lie the ashes of the mo-

* See Appendix, No. 24.

narch, under a plain slab. A tomb-stone at the head of the grave records his power and his virtues, whilst the remains of his favourite consort are inclosed in a sarcophagus of white marble, surrounded by a screen of trellis-work, which may remind the observer of the more costly tomb of the wife of Shah Jehan at Agra.

The little edifice built by Shah Zuman, the blind brother of Shah Shooja, and perched on the summits above, and the grey and battlemented ridge of the yet more elevated mountain, give an air of simple beauty and grandeur to the spot in which pilgrims seek and find the dust of the once mighty and chivalrous Baber. It is said to have been a place of constant resort of the Ameer Dost Moohummud; he kept his numerous stud of horses in the grove, and visited it every evening. These excursions afforded his poorer subjects opportunities of approaching him, and their petitions were commonly received, and their reasonable requests granted, with a courtesy and benevolence which made a deep impression on the hearts of the people of Cabool, who, contrasting the mild and frank manners of the ex-Ameer with the repulsive haughtiness of their Shah, draw comparisons very unfavourable to the recently restored ruler. Having adverted to the feelings

of the people relative to the two dynasties, I have no hesitation in adding, that I believe Dost Moohummud Khan to have been personally more acceptable to all classes of Affghans in the capital than the legitimate successor will ever be; but that there is a general feeling of satisfaction at the recent change, because it has established British influence, which the inhabitants of Central Asia have already learnt to regard as a guarantee for the enjoyment of the advantages of equitable rule.

The Barukzye Ameer knew the art of winning golden opinions, and the general impression amongst his late subjects appears to be, that he was substantively just in his decisions between man and man. The following anecdote does not impugn his equity, but exhibits an instance of rather whimsical severity. It appears that at the time the line of the Khyber was assailed by the combined force of the British and the Sikhs, the ex-Ameer detected the wealthiest banker in Cabool in a correspondence with Colonel Wade. It came to his knowledge that a bill of exchange was in his possession, which he desired to wrest from him. He summoned the Hindoo to his presence, who of course denied all knowledge of the matter. Dost Moohummud calmly directed one of his Kuzzilbash

guards to attach his musket to the ear of the Affghan Rothschild, by letting down the lock upon its pendant lobe. Anxiety to get rid of this troublesome ornament soon produced the desired effect, and the *hoondée** was delivered up in full durbar.

The troops were encamped from the 6th of August at and around Nanuchee. On the 7th, as we have seen, the Shah took possession of the palace of his ancestors. The Envoy and Minister and his assistants were immediately afterwards established in the garden houses of the ex-Ameer, under the shelter of the ruins of the Koollah-i-Feringee. The British union was hoisted in that garden in which Dost Moohummud had so often paced up and down with his suite; and this part of the palace received the name of the Residency. Shah Shooja found his own apartments in even a worse state of repair than he had anticipated. Soon after he resumed possession of them, he narrowly escaped being crushed to death by the fall of the roof of the audience chamber. He had scarcely left it, for the purpose of attending to the forms of his religion, when the formidable *avalanche* of beams, rafters, and masonry took

* Bill of Exchange.

place. His devotional customs were in this instance serviceable to him; but the Moollahs have adopted the notion that he is only an indifferent Moossulman, and the opinion has operated to his prejudice amongst his subjects.

On the 10th and 11th, the camps of the army were removed from Nanuchee. Passing, not without some difficulty, over a rich, but recently irrigated country, the force which had before occupied the head of the road from Muedan was now disposed on four points on the main route. The Bengal Head Quarter camp was fixed at the distance of about three, the infantry of the first division of five, that of the second, and the whole of the cavalry and artillery, between six and seven miles from Cabool to the right and left of the route indicated. Sir John Keane fixed his head quarters in the poplar grove, near the tomb of Sultan Baber. The valley over which the British were thus cantoned was the richest it had yet seen in Affghanistan. Closed in on every side by lofty mountains, on the tops of which, even at this season, snow rests, its length and breadth cannot be estimated at less than six miles. The whole area produces an abundance of Indian corn, rice, and garden vegetables, and is planted with poplar, willow, mulberry, and other fruits

of various kinds. To the eastward is seen the pass which leads to the city, the grey wall above it on either side, and the lofty pleasure-house near the grave of Baber; and in the more distant valleys are descried little verdant nooks, in which are sheltered villages surrounded with trees. The lofty poplars on this level resemble, at a distance, the minarets of an Asiatic city, and are sometimes mistaken for the “starry-pointing pyramids” of the cypress. The turrets of the country residences and little forts of the principal men of Cabool add to the beauty of the prospect. In Affghanistan the English maxim is reversed, and “every man’s castle is his house.”

Plenty now reigns in our camps. Their bazars are well supplied with grain of various kinds by dealers who flock to them from the city, bringing in with them asses and stout *yaboos* loaded with peaches, apples, pears, grapes, and melons. From morning to night the cry is heard in the canvass streets, “*Khurbooza, shukurbooza, ungoor-i-biriyan, ungoor-i-biriyan, surda, gurma, naspatee, naspatee.*” “Water melons, rock melons, musk melons, ripe grapes, ripe grapes, pears, pears.” These exquisite fruits are purchased by our soldiers and followers for the smallest piece of coin. Repletion

is now the only evil which they have to dread. In the midst of this abundance, the irregular habits of the population are displayed in the attacks which are nightly made by bands of bold, dexterous, and persevering depredators, who never hesitate to shed blood if interrupted or resisted in their attempts. The lawless people of this valley, so close to the capital, stab and cut down without remorse any luckless Hindostanee who wanders after dusk ten yards beyond our line of sentries, and a party of them have had the audacity to fire, without apparent reason or motive, into the camp of the Bengal head-quarters. The spirits of our officers are now raised by the improved state of our communications with the British provinces. Colonel Wade having debouched within a few marches of Jellalabad, numerous dawks have reached us by the Khyber route, and we hope soon to be able to receive dispatches at Cabool on the fifteenth day from their leaving the seat of Government at Simla.

Dost Moohummud Khan has finally escaped the grasp of his pursuers, passed the Hindoo Koosh in safety, and is now employed in intrigues in the territory of his former tributary, the Meer of Koondooz, the object of which is to avail himself of the resources of that country,

assemble an army of Uzbeks, and make an effort to regain a footing in Affghanistan. With this view he is also sedulously courting the alliance of the King of Bokhara.

The pursuit of Captain Outram was bold, active, and persevering. He followed the fugitive from the 3rd to the 9th of August, on which day the Ameer crossed in his flight the Affghan frontier at Sueghan, thirty miles beyond Bamian. The British troops endured the greatest privations, having lived on parched corn for several days, their horses picking up, at the same time, scanty and indifferent forage, in the small spots of cultivation in a mountainous tract. Holding cheap these difficulties, Captain Outram pursued his arduous course from Sheikhabad across the Pughman range; to Goda, Soofued Kadir, Joort, and Kurzar. thence he tracked the footsteps of the Ameer by Kaloo, up the tremendous passes of Hajee Guk and Shootur Gurdun to Bamian, leaving close on his right the awful eminences of Kohi Baba, twenty thousand feet in height.

But all his laudable endeavours and intentions were frustrated by the tricks and subterfuges of Hajee Khan. It very soon became evident that nothing was further from the thoughts of this accomplished traitor than to aid in the

capture of his former master. His excuses were varied and endless. At one time he urged the inability of his troops to proceed at so rapid a pace; at another, he permitted them to roam over the country in search of plunder, and then lamented their absence. Perpetually he urged upon the consideration of the bold leader of the chase, the formidable force, amounting to full fifteen hundred men, which Dost Moohummud Khan, after seeing his ranks thinned by desertion, still retained about him. Though believed to be intimately acquainted with the roads, yet between Soofued Kadir and Joort he suffered the detachment to be led into a defile in the mountains, from which there was no egress, and where they were obliged to dismount on a frosty night, and sit by their horses until the dawn enabled them to retrace their footsteps. He encouraged Captain Outram to believe that it was his intention to effect the detention of the Barukzye by raising the Hazaru tribes in his rear, and under this pretext urged him to slacken his pace. But when he found that his sagacity and determination were proof against privations, fatigue, entreaties, and every artifice, he at length threw off the mask so far as to tell him that he must not reckon on the aid of the Affghan troops if he attacked

Dost Moohummud, contrary to the advice of his guide, and that it would not be surprising if they should turn against the British in the *melée*. In one of the numerous altercations between Captain Outram and the Hajee, the latter used the remarkable expressions which will be long remembered against him. “I am hated in Affghanistan on account of my friendship for the English. *I am, next to the king, the most unpopular man in the country.*”

It seems scarcely doubtful that the Kakur was in constant communication with the ex-Sirdar. Arrived at Bamian, and feeling that further pursuit was fruitless, since in a few hours Dost Moohummed must reach Kamurd, in the Koon-dooz territory, where he would be joined by a large force of Uzbeks, Captain Outram dispatched a letter by a Syud to the fallen chief. He reminded him in this of his ancient friendship for Sir Alexander Burnes, and entreated him to believe that the counsel which he offered was the very same which that sincere well-wisher would give him if he were now at Bamian—viz., that, instead of condemning himself to the life of an exile amongst men who hated him, he should return and submit himself to his lawful sovereign, and accept the favourable terms which the British government was yet disposed

to guarantee to him. It is doubtful whether this remonstrance ever reached Dost Moohummud, since the messenger was procured by Hajee Khan; but Captain Outram, after waiting three days at Bamian to give time for a reply, withdrew his troops to the capital. The recorded opinion of this gallant officer is, that the British force under his orders was not sufficiently strong to have ensured the defeat and capture of the Ameer if he had come up with him, although he had determined to attack him at all hazards. This conviction seems to have tended to retard him, inasmuch as it produced the impression that he was on this account not wholly independent of the movements and support of the Hajee and his Affghans, over and above the service he was capable of rendering as a guide. On the return of the party to Cabool, the proofs of the treasonable intentions of Hajee Khan appeared so clear to the King and to the Envoy, that he was immediately arrested, and placed in close confinement in the Bala Hissar. Hajee Dost Moohummud Khan, the lord of Gurmsel, whose imputed delinquencies have been already mentioned, was at the same time put in durance.

On the 22nd and 23rd of August our camps were finally fixed on a succession of heights and

slopes, which command the valley to the eastward of Cabool, on the great route through Bootkhak to Jellalabad, the Khyber, Peshawur, and the Attok. The country on this side of the capital wore at this season an aspect of sterility, but a great portion of its flats were irrigated during our stay, for rice cultivation, and may before this be rich in waving crops. The outline, too, of the mountains on this side of Cabool yields in beauty to those of the vale which we have left, although the summits in the direction of Kohistan are lofty and imposing. A compensation for the loss of these natural beauties is found in the striking view of the Bala Hissar, its gate towards Lahore, its frowning citadel, and the grey battlements and towers of the wall which runs up the side and along the crest of the heights above it.

Whilst the force lingered here, occupation and amusement were sought in a review, which astonished and delighted the Shah and a numerous assemblage of his subjects; and in races, to the crowning triumph of which the monarch contributed by presenting a handsome sword of Persian manufacture to the owner of the winning horse. Here, too, it was that the feelings of the officers of the force were outraged by the intelligence of another barbarous murder perpetrated

on the person of an individual of their own body universally respected and beloved.

Lieutenant-Colonel Herring, commanding the 37th native infantry, had been employed in escorting treasure and stores from Candahar, where he had been left in command on the departure of the army in June. He reached Hyder Kheil without adventure on the 3rd of September. There, accompanied by three officers of his corps, he imprudently strolled out in the evening to the distance of between two and three miles from his camp. The whole party was unarmed. The Colonel had given his sword to a servant, who remained at a considerable distance, and the rest of the officers had left their weapons in their tents. An orderly havildar and two sipahees indeed were in nominal attendance, and had their firelocks with them; but there was a long interval between them and their officers. The latter, on coming near a rising ground, were suddenly made aware, by the whistling of bullets around them, that they were attacked by bandits. There was no resource for men without weapons but to retire towards their camp; but no sooner had they turned their backs than the robbers sallied forth, overtook Colonel Herring, and, though he resisted stoutly, and felled one of the assailants to the ground with his walking-stick,

overpowered and put him to death with numerous wounds. It is believed that a ball had struck him before this completion of the catastrophe. The havildar and sipahees behaved with much resolution, but, opposed to overpowering odds, could only succeed in saving the body of their commander. It was brought to Cabool, and interred in a decent grave, with military honours, in the Armenian cemetery, near the remains of Brigadier Arnold, who had fallen a victim to disease on the 21st of August.

When Shah Shooja heard of this new atrocity, he zealously lent his authority to aid in the discovery and punishment of the murderers, and the active and indefatigable Captain Outram proceeded towards Hyder Kheil, at the head of three hundred Affghan horse, with full powers to use every necessary measure to bring the guilty to justice. He was commissioned at the same time, in concert with Major Maclaren, the British commander at Ghuznee, to reduce to submission some of the refractory chiefs of the Ghiljees. It need scarcely be added how deep a feeling of disgust was excited in the mind of every Englishman in Affghanistan by this additional proof of the depraved and sanguinary habits of the people of the country.

The authorities at Cabool had been made

aware in the second week of August of the success of the negotiations and operations of Colonel Wade on the side of the Peshawur frontier. His force, consisting of considerable but irregular levies of Moossulman Punjabees, partly led by British officers, conjoined to a small detachment of native infantry, and accompanied by two howitzers of our native horse artillery, had broken up from Lahore, intending to act in concert with a corps of the Sikh army. With this allied armament had moved the Shahzada Timour Shah, eldest son of Shah Shooja. No pains had been spared to obtain possession of the defiles of the Khyber by corrupting the Momunds on the left bank of the Cabool river, and the Khyberee tribes in the mountain fastnesses.

But these intrigues were not very successful, and Moohummud Ukhbar, the eldest and most energetic of the sons of the Ameer of Cabool, though driven from the pass and fort of Alee Musjid, continued at the head of a large force to preserve a bold front towards the invaders. He had improved the roads in his own rear, and, relying on the natural strength of the country which was threatened by the British and Sikh forces, shewed a willingness to give battle, with his left to the Cabool river and his

right on the mountains of the Teera range, whenever he might be attacked. But all his bold intentions were frustrated by the capture of Ghuznee. On receiving the news of that electrifying event, the Ameer sent his son a peremptory order to join him with his infantry for the defence of his capital against more formidable opponents than the Sikh British armament. By an incredibly rapid march, these troops fell back from the defiles of the Khyber to Urghundee Bala in the interval between the storm of Ghuznee and the advance of the British to Sheikhabad. The issue of that junction, and the circumstance of the subsequent sickness of Moohummud Ukbur, have already been related.

The force under the direction of Colonel Wade finding its enemies diminished in its front, penetrated the last passes of the Khyber, and after performing the acceptable service of establishing a chain of posts along the mountain route, and on the right margin of the Cabool river in the direction of Muchnee, took possession of Jellalabad, and advanced without further opposition to Bootkhak, one march from Cabool. On the morning of the 3rd of September, the Shahzada Timour Shah made his entry into the capital. The prince is thirty-

one years of age. In countenance he resembles his father, though the expression of his features conveys the impression of less acuteness and discrimination. He is in character far more like his grandfather, whose name he bears, than the adventurous Dooranee who founded the dynasty. Naturally timid, and, as well as his brothers, nurtured in seclusion and obscurity at Loodiana, (*sayupurwur*, nursed in the shade, as the Affghans phrase it,) he little appreciates the change of fortune which has placed his parent once more on a throne, and in his progress from the Sutlege bitterly complained to the British officers of the hard fate which had dragged him forth from the tranquillity and comfort of his peaceful retirement to endure the hardships of a soldier and the privations of a traveller, and to be bound hand and foot by the formalities of a court in the burning plains of the Punjab, the passes of the Khyber, and at the royal head quarters of an invading force. He was well mounted on this triumphal occasion, and sat gracefully on his grey charger.

The Bombay contingent, adequately supplied through the indefatigable exertions of Major Parsons, the commissary-general of the whole force, with means of transport and provisions, marched from Cabool in high order,

under the command of Major General Willshire, on the 16th September. It was directed to move upon Ghuznee, and then, approaching the Khoju Amran far to the eastward of the Kozuk, to effect the passage of the range in the district of Toba. Thus it will advance to Kwettah by a much shorter route than that of Candahar and the valley of the Turnuk. It will co-operate with a portion of the 2nd brigade, which it will find in Beloochistan, and effect the deposition of Mihrab Khan, returning to its own Presidency as circumstances and the information which its commander may collect on the spot shall dictate, either by the Bolan or the Gundava pass, or both, into Sindh.

This force halted, however, one day near Nanuchee with a view to its officers being present at the ceremony of the investiture in the Bala Hissar, by Shah Shooja, of the most distinguished of our belligerents and negotiators with the insignia of his new order. Meditating on the best mode of testifying his gratitude to those who had been instrumental in restoring to him his kingdom, the monarch had finally resolved on instituting a Dooranee order of merit consisting of three classes.* Into the first of these were at present to be admitted the Governor-

* See Appendix, No. 21.

General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Envoy and Minister, Sir Willoughby Cotton, Sir Alexander Burnes, and Colonel Wade; the second was to include all the other major-generals and the brigadiers present at Ghuznee, some staff-officers specially recommended, and Major Todd; the third was composed of officers commanding corps, field-officers of regiments, and a few staff-officers and minor diplomatists. The members were, as in the Bath, to wear in the first class, a star, with decoration suspended across the shoulder; in the second, a star, with decoration attached around the neck; and in the third, a decoration only, appended to the button-hole. The ribband was to be green and crimson, and the stars were in allusion to the designation, Dooranee, derivable from *دور* (*door*), a pearl, to be enriched with those glittering and delicate productions.

It is gratifying to have to record the swift retribution which overtook some of the perpetrators of the sanguinary outrage at Hyder Kheil, and their accomplices in organized rapine. Captain Outram had repaired, as was before related, to the scene of the assassination of Colonel Herring, and, indefatigable in his inquiries, soon collected information which convinced him that the lamented officer had fallen

under the weapons of some of the sanguinary brethren of a tribe of freebooters called Khwajuks, whose stronghold was near Koloogoo, two long marches to the north-east of Ghuznee. That fortress being at this time partly garrisoned by the 16th native infantry, Captain Outram communicated the circumstances to its commander, Major Maclaren, and requested his aid in attacking the marauders. It was believed that they had descended in a body from their mountains, and encamped in a glen, not wholly inaccessible. The requisition was promptly and zealously complied with, and Major Maclaren breaking up from his camp near Ghuznee, arrived by daybreak, after a fatiguing night march, in sight of the robbers' position.

His troops consisted of a wing of his own corps, one hundred and fifty of Captain Christie's regiment of the Shah's cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicolson, fifty of the 1st Local horse, under Lieutenant Broadfoot, and one hundred and fifty Affghan cavalry, led by their Sirdar, Moohummud Othman Khan. He found the enemy strongly posted at the foot of a range of mountains of bare rock, and immediately made his dispositions to attack them. Lieutenant Nicolson was directed to turn their left, and Lieutenant Broadfoot their right, whilst the

16th native infantry assaulted in front. A few of the bandits fell under the musketry of our native soldiers whilst in their first position, but the main body retired up the heights. These they probably believed to be wholly inaccessible, as they were both steep and rugged.

The marauders, therefore, confident in the advantage of their post, opened a fire from their matchlocks, fixed, as is the Affghan and Beloochee custom, on rests, whilst their chiefs, waving their swords, dared the Hindoostanees to advance. As the grenadiers of the 16th moved directly against their enemy, the light company and another passed to their right, so as to prevent the escape of the bandits along the range of hills. Officers and soldiers experienced much difficulty in scaling rocks of so precipitous a character; but notwithstanding their vantage ground, their steadied aim and noisy vaunts, the brigands were speedily and utterly defeated. Many were killed, and the rest of the party, one hundred and twenty in number, some of whom were wounded, were all made prisoners. Not a man escaped. The loss of the British was trifling; and amongst the robbers who were captured, Major Maclaren succeeded in identifying in Moohummud Othman, the wounded chief of the tribe, and two

or three others of his people, actual participators in the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Herring. He found in the marauders' camp many articles of clothing belonging to European and native soldiers, and fragments of English letters. This may be accepted as a proof that the tribe had been actively engaged in the plunder of our stragglers and dawks.

During the last half of September, and the two first weeks of October, the principal subject which came under the consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, and the Envoy and Minister, was the military occupation of the country, the destinies of which late events had seemed to place in the hands of the British. When Dost Moohummud Khan first crossed the frontier, his fortunes appeared to be so utterly broken, that it was hoped that a single brigade of British troops in Eastern, and another in Western Affghanistan, would, in addition to the Shah's own army, suffice to maintain the restored monarch on the throne.

Doctor Lord, of the Bombay medical service, who had evinced much talent both when employed as assistant to Captain Burnes in his accredited visit to Cabool immediately before the war, and more recently during the Khyber operations, was selected to enter into such

negotiations beyond the Tartar frontier as might prevent the ex-Ameer from obtaining assistance from the Meer of Koondooz or the King of Bokhara in any hostile plans against the restored government of Affghanistan. But towards the beginning of October the aspect of affairs to the northward of the Hindoo Koosh was thought to be materially changed. The ex-Ameer appeared to be firmly established in the Koondooz territory, and to have obtained such a hold of its resources as to cause very serious alarm in the council chamber of the Bala Hissar, and to disturb the slumbers of Shah Shooja with visions of the appearance of the Barukzye to the southward of Sueghan, at the head of a combined force of Affghans and Uzbeks. To a desire to allay these apprehensions might be traced the plan of an enterprise patronized for a time by the Envoy and Minister, but judiciously abandoned in consequence of the well-timed remonstrance of Sir John Keane. It had been devised to send a brigade of troops at this advanced period of the year beyond the Hindoo Koosh to give weight to the diplomatic representations of Doctor Lord. To the simple apprehension of soldiers, it was clear that this would have been a strategical error. Cut off by the snows and glaciers of this vast mountain range from

all communication with the armament around Cabool, these troops might have had to sustain single-handed the attack of all the forces of Independent Tartary, without supplies, ammunition, or a base of operations. But soberer councils prevailed, and this project of a Trans-Caucasian expedition gave place to safer and less romantic measures of precaution.

It was determined that besides the regular army of Shah Shooja and his Affghan forces, the members of which were daily increasing, the whole of the Bengal division of infantry should remain to the westward of the Khyber. To this were to be conjoined the camel battery, and the 2nd light cavalry, whilst the remainder of the cavalry and artillery should accompany Sir John Keane in the middle of October to the Sutlege. These dispositions appeared to be definitive; the command of the force which was to remain in occupation was confided to Sir Willoughby Cotton, and the Commander-in-Chief prepared to thread the defiles of the Khyber, traverse the Peshawur territory, cross the Indus, and, marching through the Punjab, embark upon the Sutlege, and drop down the Indus to Bombay. Thence he proposed to return to his native land, where the approbation of a gracious Sovereign, and the welcome of a

grateful parliament and people awaited him. But just as his Excellency was about to turn his back on Cabool, a communication from Hindoostan led to a modification of this arrangement. Sir Henry Fane, after descending the Indus, had proceeded to Bombay, and watched from that distant point the progress of events in Central Asia. No successor to him as Commander-in-Chief in India had yet been appointed. Nevertheless, the war being at an end, he had declared his intention of embarking for England early in 1840. Major-General Ramsay, in the meantime, who had exercised the functions of Provincial Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, was preparing to leave Meerut in November, upon the expiration of his tour of staff employment. Sir Willoughby Cotton was the next to him in seniority; and to obviate the inconvenience of an interregnum, it was deemed advisable that he should return to the British provinces. He got ready, therefore, at a few hours' notice, to follow the route of Sir John Keane.

As a temporary measure, it was directed that the troops in Western Affghanistan should report to General Nott, and those around Cabool to Brigadier Sale. The cold of that capital is so intense between November and March, that

the Dooranee court always migrates to the eastward in the interval. The ruinous state of the palace was this year an additional reason for leaving the Bala Hissar. In former days, Peshawur was the place of royal resort, but that fine city is no longer subject to Dooranee rule. It was determined, therefore, that Shah Shooja should fix the seat of his government at Jellalabad until the return of spring. The reserve of the force, consisting of a brigade of infantry, and the 2nd light cavalry, and a portion of the Hindoostanee troops of the king, was to be encamped around that city. The 13th light infantry and a corps of native infantry garrisoned the Bala Hissar, another native regiment held Ghuznee. Two little posts of observation were established on the main routes across Hindoo Koosh, the one at Charekur, and the other at Bamian. Doctor Lord was politically employed in the vicinity of the latter.

The small force which was to move towards Hindoostan with Sir John Keane was divided into two columns. The lancers and horse artillery accompanied his head quarters; the 2nd light cavalry, 4th local horse, and numerous detachments, were to march under the command of General Thackwell. Sir Willoughby Cotton accompanied the last-mentioned body of troops

as an escorted traveller for the present, not as a leader. Henceforth my narrative, therefore, will be that of its progress. Our party and General Simpson, who had resigned the command of Shah Shooja's army, were willing tourists in the direction of the Sutlege. But there moved with us two for whom the British provinces had no charms; the one an honourable captive, Moohummud Hyder Khan, son of the ex-Ameer, the defeated but not disgraced commandant of Ghuznee; the other, that personification of all that is base in the Affghan character, the Kakur chief Hajee Khan. It had been determined at this period that both should be conveyed within the limits of the Agra Presidency, the one to reside there as a prisoner at large, and the other to expiate his presumed treasons by incarceration within the walls of a fortress.

The blast was piercingly cold as, before daylight on the morning of the 16th of October, we mounted our horses and rode from Cabool. Emerging from the little cemetery, in which we had been more than a month and a half encamped, and turning our steeds' heads towards Hindoostan, we reached in an hour the stream of the Logur, which we crossed by a good bridge a few miles above its confluence with

the Cabool river. The former is here deep and rapid, and about fifty yards in width. We halted, as the sun became warm, at the little fortified village of Bootkhak, and spent the forenoon in paying a visit to Moohummud Hyder Khan. He recounted to us with great gaiety and good humour the story of his adventures at the battle of Jumrood. From our encampment we took a long look, believing it might be the last, at the towers of the Bala Hissar, and the mountains which environ Cabool.

Before us lay the Lutabund pass, by which Kafilas commonly travel. It was considered, however, impracticable for artillery, and Sir John Keane's column had therefore taken a more circuitous route, to which we prepared to conform. An hour before daylight we had begun to move across the plain, accompanied by an escort of light cavalry. As we reached the mountains in front of us, we turned suddenly to our right, and found ourselves in a deep defile, through which a mountain-stream was murmuring. The wind blew piercingly cold down the funnel of the narrow Durru. The frozen bodies of a dead elephant on the roadside, and of numerous camels strewed in our path, were the first evidences which presented themselves

of the rigours of climate which we were to encounter in this valley of about four miles in length. We crossed the rivulet twenty-eight times in our course, and as the water splashed our horses' legs and their riders' boots it was congealed in a few seconds. Sir Willoughby Cotton was protected from the cold by a long hussar cloak, which, as he happened to be mounted on a strong hill poney, dipped in the stream as he forded. The blue cloth and red shalloon of this good defence against the weather was soon decorated with a border of ice a foot in width, the weight of which literally tore off five buttons. On our right and left we saw the caverns and *sungas*, or rude breast-works of stone, of the marauders of the region. In Affghanistan no pass is without its tribe of plunderers. Never did travellers hail with more joy the beams of the sun than we, when, emerging from this dreary defile, we came once more within their influence. At our encamping ground, in the midst of seeming sterility, we were supplied with abundance of barley, chopped straw, and lucerne grass for our cattle, loads of which were brought by the peasants on their asses over the mountains from the neighbouring villages.

Continuing our march over roads scarcely prac-

ticable, up and down painful ascents and declivities, and across numerous streams, we reached, on the 18th Teezeen, a valley marked by a singular natural column of pudding-stone at its entrance. We halted on the 19th at a Fukeer's Tukiya, where the peasantry pointed out a grave of gigantic dimensions. They affirmed that it covered the remains of a celebrated saint. On the 20th we encamped in a sterile hollow near Bareekab. Here we began visibly to descend, and the weather grew perceptibly warmer. Many of our officers experienced that sensation of giddiness which affects some persons during sudden transitions from the top to the foot, or from the base to the summit, of considerable altitudes. It is to be remembered that the plain of Cabool, which we had recently left, is upwards of six thousand feet above the level of the sea. Jellalabad, on which we were marching, is not more than three. Though, therefore, both cities are nearly in the same latitude—viz., about $34^{\circ} 22'$ north, the great difference in temperature is not surprising. We saw this morning Kafilas winning their way over the hills above us by the narrow route which leads to the capital by the Lutaband pass. On the eminences which we ourselves had scaled we found the bodies of three of our

unfortunate followers who had died from the effects of cold. The countenance of one of them wore the most dreadful expression of shivering agony which I had ever seen on mortal lineament.

There are two roads from the vicinity of Bareekab to the village of Jugduluk, which is situated on the slope of a hill, and embosomed in a little grove of trees. The route which was deemed preferable for our baggage animals, and which they took, presents no obstacles but hilly undulations. We rode by the lower way, which led us through another terrific defile, the rocks of which, said to be granite and sandstone, were piled one on the other in dark and frowning strata, sloping down on either side towards a mountain rivulet, for which they scarcely left room to flow. This *durru* is longer than that of Khoord Cabool, and a chilling wind blew along the bed of its rivulet, but its waters had no ice on their margin, a full proof of the comparative mildness of the climate. Our horses and camels had now for four successive days severely felt the want of grass and straw, and great numbers of the baggage animals died, or had their strength entirely prostrated by diarrhoea, brought on by feeding on a plant on the sides of the hills, said to be a species of *digitalis*.

From Jugduluk, the mountains, hitherto so bare, are covered with a few bushes and stunted trees.

We marched by moonlight on the morning of the 22nd, but before we reached the Soorkh or red river, near which our tents were pitched, the sun had grown hot to a degree which appeared almost frightful to men who had recently been frozen at Cabool. The stream flows rapidly, chafed by rocks, which impede its passage, under a bridge of single lofty and pointed arch, built by Alee Murdan Khan, the wealthy and munificent noble, in the age of Shah Jehan, who has left other monuments of his taste and public spirit in the eastern provinces of the Affghan rule. The stream escapes a hundred yards higher than the ford by which we crossed it from the mouth of a dark defile, which reminded us of Jugduluk and Khoord Cabool, and then flows on to join its vexed but crystal waters to those of the Cabool stream. Here was resumed the story of disaster which had been so little varied in all our marches from the Indus. Camels dead and dying strewed the road, and commissariat grain and officers' tents and baggage were on every side abandoned. To swell yet higher the amount of these misadventures, a numerous

train of carts had followed our columns from Cabool. Up to that point they had not been encumbered by any wheeled carriages but those of the artillery.

We encamped the next day, and enjoyed the luxury of a halt at Gundamuk, in a delightful and well watered valley, fertile, and planted with spreading mulberry trees. On our right were the Teera mountains, and immediately above us, the lofty summit of Soofued Koh; on our left was a chain of hills, from which we were warned to be on our guard against any sudden inroad of our old enemies, the Ghiljees, a tribe of whom is established in the neighbourhood. We continued our route on the 25th, taking the left of two roads which both unite at Futtihabad. The Teera range was seen majestically rising on our right, and nearer to us, when we began again to descend, we descried in the centre of a well cultivated vale, irrigated by a mountain stream, the royal gardens of Neemla. We could not pause to visit them, but looked down with pleasure on the lofty square inclosure, over which shot up a dense grove of poplars and fruit-bearing trees.

We had not forgotten that this was the memorable spot on which Shah Shooja lost his crown thirty years ago, when his Wuzeer, Akram Khan,

at the head of fifteen thousand men, sustained a defeat from Futtih Khan, followed only by two thousand. Our camp was fixed this day in fields, from which it was plain that rich harvests had recently been reaped. The country was well watered by numerous streams which flow down from the Teera mountain, and clumps and groves of fruit trees lent freshness and variety to the scene. The landscape was yet more smiling at Sooltanpore, where we halted on the 26th. Grain was more abundant here than we had ever known it since we left the British provinces, and, for the first time in the Dooranee Empire, we saw numerous fields of lofty sugar cane. A long tract of valley under the mountains was covered with a succession of garden inclosures.

We marched to Jellalabad on the 27th October. Intelligence reached us here which affected the immediate plans of our party. Sir Jasper Nicolls had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, and might land at Calcutta before we could arrive in Hindoostan. There would be no need in that case of a Provincial Commander-in-Chief. Still we purposed to move on, if not recalled by a mandate from Lord Auckland; Sir Willoughby Cotton to a divisional command in India, and I to see the

“old familiar faces,” and give this hasty narrative to the public.

News from a nearer point had also imparted an air of bustle to the precincts of Jellalabad. The Khyberees had threatened in force, on the 24th instant, the post of Alee Musjid, in which Captain Ferris of the 20th native infantry commanded. Three regiments of Nujeebs,* soldiers of the Punjab in British pay, embodied under the direction of Colonel Wade, were breaking up their encampment under the walls of the city as we approached them, with the view of proceeding to the scene of insurrection. Lieutenant Mackeson, whom we had known at Bhawulpore, but who had since played a conspicuous part in the operations and negotiations on the Khyber frontier, had already passed down the Cabool river on a raft, as the most expeditious mode of reaching the passes. The origin of the present resistance of these mountaineers was briefly explained to be as follows: When Colonel Wade had driven back the force of Moohummud Ukhbar, and entered the defiles of Khyber, he had held out hopes to the singular tribes

* A flattering title applied to certain irregulars in the East. It means literally *nobles*, and, in a more extended sense, *volunteers*; but is used in customary parlance to designate a particular class of militia, who are *not*, however, of aristocratic extraction, and do *not* perform gratuitous service.

which inhabit them of the confirmation by Shah Shooja of their ancient privileges, being, in effect, the quiet possession of their lands and villages in the vicinity of the pass, and the more questionable claim to a share in the transit duties levied from all Kafilas in the *Durru*, or a fixed commutation in lieu thereof. Two chiefs had also repaired to Cabool, who complained, like others, on their return, of the haughtiness of the monarch's reception.

Colonel Wade had obtained the sanction of the King to all his measures, and returned from the capital fortified with royal *sanuds** confirmatory of all the promises made to these hereditary bandits. He had summoned to a conference, as he repassed towards the Indus, the chiefs from the villages of Choora, Baghra, and Bazar, around Alee Musjid, and from Teera, the Khyberee capital. Either, however, the robber leaders had been, like true Asiatics, dilatory in repairing to his camp, or the Colonel had hastened his return, with some impatience, towards Lahore, where matters of importance demanded his presence; the interview never took place; in its stead, a message only was left for the chiefs, purporting that Lieutenant Mackeson would shortly follow his principal,

* Deeds of grant.

and was charged to deliver the *sunuds*, and make every satisfactory arrangement. But this proceeding, coupled with the coldness of the Shah, had roused the suspicions of these mountaineers, peculiarly susceptible, like all degraded people, of such impressions. Their clans were mustered with hostile intent, and after putting some queries to Captain Ferris, which he had no authority to answer, they attacked his post in force. His regular sipahees had all either fallen victims to disease or were in hospital at Peshawur, suffering from its lingering effects; five only remained in the fort; but with the body of Nujeebs at his disposal, Captain Ferris made good dispositions for the defence of his position, which gave him a command of the water in the valley, and repulsed the assailants with loss.

Jellalabad is a town of houses of mud, surrounded by a very poor wall of the same material; it may contain some ten thousand inhabitants, Hindoos, Tajiks, and Ukhwans, chiefly Tajiks. The Cabool river flows within a mile of it, a rapid and clear stream, about one hundred yards in width, but here, at this season, so shallow as to be navigable only on rafts. There are extensive plains around the city. To the northward are seen a secondary range of mountains running parallel with that of the In-

dian Caucasus; to the southward and westward, the Teera chain, with the lofty peak of Soofued Koh; and to the eastward, offsets from the same high boundary, which obstruct the route to Peshawur. The best house in or about Jellalabad is that of Moohummud Ukhbar, eldest son of the Ameer. It is surrounded by a garden, the cypresses of which distinguish it at a considerable distance. We pitched our tents under the battlements of the town, within a walled inclosure, which had been sown with clover. A white octagonal *mukburuh*, or tomb, surmounted with a dome, served as an excellent dining-room, and we had nothing to complain of during our two days' halt at Jellalabad but two several visits by night of bands of thieves, who, in spite of the vigilance of our native sentries, made prize of the clothes and cooking utensils of some of our domestics.

Our route was resumed on the 30th October. We marched eight miles to Alee Boghan, an inconsiderable village at the foot of the low range of the Teera hills, which we had seen to the eastward of Jellalabad. The Cabool river wound along at the distance of about three miles from our road, which carried us first over sandy plains, and then across a little stream, the sides of which were bordered for some hun-

dred yards with lofty reeds. Arrived at Alee Boghan, we had to the northward a fine view of the river, a string of villages beyond it, and the rich valley in which their towers are situated. We yet find every hamlet in the land a small fortification. The prospect in this direction was bounded by the mountains of Caf-fristan. Westward we could yet see Jellalabad; and looking towards the east, perceived that we had two routes open before us. We chose that which inclined most to the southward, and pursuing our way in that direction, on the 31st halted, after traversing a stony and sterile plain, at Fukeer's Tukiya, under spreading tamarisk trees. There are four hamlets near this spot, whence the locality derives its designation of Char Dih.* We had here, when we looked northward, a prospect similar to that which presented itself in the same direction on the preceding day, of the river, the tower of Kama, the groves and garden around it, and the Caf-fristan range as the frame of the picture. We had marched this day fourteen miles. We were enveloped early the next morning by some of the lower of the Teera hills. At the foot of one of them we found a large *kafila* of one of

* Four villages.

the mountain tribes encamped. They had journeyed to Cabool to dispose of their flocks, for both the skins and flesh of which there is a great demand in the capital.

I would define the pass of Khyber as commencing at Huzarnow, where we pitched our tents on the 1st November. This town is at the foot of an eminence. When the traveller has ascended this rise, he will find his path continually overhung by mountains until he finally debouches near Jumrood, full fifty miles distant. Onwards we proceeded on the 2nd, and found the mountains on our left coming close down upon our road for several miles. Our ascent, however, though considerable, was gradual until we approached within two miles of Duka, the termination of our march. Here, after conquering an acclivity, in ascending which we perceived that our path had been smoothed by the pioneers both of Moohummud Ukhbar and Colonel Wade, we emerged again into a spacious plain, and saw once more on our left the Cabool river, with the town of Lalpoora on its further bank. Nearly opposite to this was a post of Nujeebs, established by Lieutenant Mackeson. From the reports of this party, from the narratives of passing Kafilas, and small detachments of the newly-raised levies, which we

met on the road, it seemed clear that the Khyberees had been making fresh attempts on our posts in their mountains. Our informants always stated the result to have been unfavourable to the brigands; but there was a vagueness and contradiction in their stories, from which we did not augur well.

The little village of Duka is elevated above the plain. In proceeding towards Peshawur, the traveller leaves it to his left. Half a mile of gradual ascent over a stony expanse brings him to a point from which his road lies for eight miles between lofty hills, the intermediate valley not exceeding four hundred yards in width. On either hand, at short intervals, are seen a succession of the *sungas*, commonly large square field-works, of the Khyberees. From within a mile of Duka the low ground is not supplied with water in any shape; but just where it abruptly terminates in an eminence, which would be at first thought to bar all further progress, a mountain rill comes gurgling down from the recesses of a narrow inlet in the hills. Here, of course, our camp was pitched. We found space for the tents even of our diminutive force with difficulty. Near the point where the streamlet issues is seen, on an eminence, the remains of the old Khybersee fort of

Lundee Khanu. A rear-guard of the lancers and much of the baggage of Sir John Keane's column was yet on our ground when we arrived, and the latter could not be got off for three hours afterwards, so truly arduous was the ascent before us.

We renewed our labours by starlight on the morning of the 4th. At Lundee Khanu, the asperities of the Khyber route commence in earnest. We ascended a rocky eminence, and then found ourselves on a gallery similar to the well-known traverses of the Simplon. The road might be twelve feet in width, the lofty side of the mountain continually rising like a wall on the left, and a precipice yawning on the right. The ascent, by aid of the zig-zags, was for two miles and a half tolerably equable; but then succeeded some abrupt dips, and elevations, and some windings in the road, so toilsome, that though the case of the troops might be regarded as not beyond hope, the train of baggage and, above all, the carts, seemed to be condemned to be perpetually engulfed in the defile.

After surmounting these difficulties, we found ourselves on the table of the mountain; and, after riding on a few hundred yards, began very gradually to descend through a well cultivated

valley, bounded on either side by mountains, which left an interval between of from two to three miles. Near the village of Lal Beg is seen, on the left side of the road, a tope on a large scale, and in very fine preservation. It consists of a dome of solid masonry of stone, one part of the circumference of which has fallen in, constructed upon a large cubic pedestal. At the top of the antique building is grotesquely perched one of the little mud towers common in this district of robbers. I had no leisure for research or minute examination, but on a cursory view have formed the opinion that this is a finer monument than the tope of Manikyala, which I afterwards saw in the Punjab. The Khyberees, who live at its foot, and probably know less about it than anybody else, affirmed that it was built many years ago by a powerful Hindoo, named Ram Seth. It can hardly be doubted that it is one of a series, of which Manikyala, Belour, and the ruined specimen at Kwolsir, near Peshawur, are connecting links.

The descent continues even and easy from the top of the Lundee Khanu defile, on which there is a *choukee*, or guard-house, to the opening into the plains of the Peshawur territory. But about seven miles beyond the tope, the

valley narrows, and the road becomes nearly coincident with the course of a clear mountain stream, in which the finny race are seen sporting in shoals. A traveller from Affghanistan may pass by, almost without perceiving it, the fort of Alee Musjid; but when he has followed the rivulet a short distance down into the *durru*, he will, if he faces about, see its towers frowning from a lofty and insulated eminence, and completely commanding the only approach.

When the troops of the Ameer occupied this hold, they were posted in the fort itself, and on the summits of the mountains which inclose and overlook the valley and the rill. From these, Colonel Wade's Sipahes and Nujeebs drove them, by ascending the heights at distant points, and proceeding along the ridges. The howitzers of our artillery, under Lieutenant Barr, were placed in battery at the same time in the hollow, and dislodged the garrison of Alee Musjid with their shells. The locality is picturesque, and the atmosphere was, in November, pure and bracing, yet the post has become the grave of nearly all the soldiers who have been quartered there. Dysentery and intermittent fever have swept them off, or compelled them to seek refuge in the hospitals at Peshawur. It remains to be discovered how

malaria is thus powerfully generated amidst dry rocks, without a blade of vegetation. The stream in the valley, though beautifully clear, and filled with fish, is certainly impregnated with some substance unfavourable to health.

Sir John Keane halted near Alee Musjid on the 4th, and here we heard the particulars of the disastrous attack made by the Khyberees on a *sunga* near the point of junction of two roads about a mile below the fort. It was garrisoned by Nujeebs. Their numbers had been thinned, and the survivors worn down by continued sickness, when the Khyberees, estimated at six thousand strong, attacked their breast-work. They were long kept at bay, but the marauders were animated by the love of plunder, and persevered in their attacks. They were aware that the devoted Nujeebs had recently received their arrears of pay, and that the sum of twelve thousand rupees was buried on the spot, which was an old Khyberee haunt. Finally they carried the weak field-work, and mercilessly put to the sword four hundred of its defenders. They did not keep possession of it, but, after repeating their vain attempts on Alee Musjid, and Captain Ferris' posts in the valley, retired to their mountains.

Recruited by the repose of the 5th, we moved

down the valley, leaving on our left the scene of the slaughter of the Nujeebs and the road by Shadee Tungee. We followed the windings of the mountain stream. Having reason to expect an attack, our little column moved in close and guarded array; but about fifty only of the mountaineers shewed themselves on our right flank. They were men of dwarfish stature, and remarkable for a peculiarly wild air, unhealthy appearance, and mean and squalid clothing. They crept along cautiously out of point blank range of musketry, on the ridge of the mountain, and evidently regarded with curiosity and astonishment the files of our cavalry, and train of light guns. They were armed with muskets, long knives, and shields, but did not honour us even with a passing shot from their long firelocks, which have become so celebrated, and with which they could probably have reached us. We encamped near Kudum, just within the boundary line of the Dooranee territories, beyond the mouth of the *terrible* pass, close to the scene of the action at Futihgurh between the Affghans and Sikhs, in which the Sirdar Hurree Singh was killed, and our Ghuznee opponent, Moohummud Hyder Khan, received a wound. The Maharajah's general, Goolab Singh, was posted in observation, with twelve battalions,

under the walls of the little fort of Jumrood. A salute was fired from its ramparts as our Commander-in-Chief passed under them. Mindful of the events of former days, the Sikh soldiers crowded into our camp to obtain a sight of the son of the ex-Ameer, and of the Kakur Chief.

The first glance at the plains of the Peshawur territory relieved us from all feeling of surprise at the anxiety of the Ameer of Cabool to gain, and of the Sikh ruler to keep possession of, the province. It was evident that it was eminently productive in barley, Indian corn, and sugarcane. We encamped on the 7th at Kwolsir, near the ruined tope; and on the morning of the 8th set out for Peshawur. Between seven and eight, A. M., we saw on our right, groves and ruined dwellings, which were pointed out to us by our guides as the remains of the once beautiful gardens of Alee Murdan Khan. We soon after passed under the walls of the fort, evidently a place of considerable strength. As we got nearer to the city, we found ourselves upon a broad and uniform road, which seemed to be in process of construction round the whole circuit of the *shuhur punah*. Whilst we pursued our way, attention was arrested by the unusual sight of the bodies of three Affghans suspended

from a cross piece of timber fixed between two of the trees of a little date grove. Seven more criminals were hanging from a gibbet a little further on. Passing these signs of a watchful and strong government, we arrived on ground to the eastward of Peshawur, on which the union flag of Sir John Keane was waving. We little thought as we dismounted from our horses how long we were to sojourn within the walls of this city.

We had heard much the day before of the hospitality of General Avitabili towards our comrades of the leading column. He is a Neapolitan by birth, naturalized in France, who had served in his youth in the army of Napoleon. Like his talented and amiable brethren in arms, Allard, Ventura, and Court, he had, after the "fatal day" of Mont St. Jean, sought to improve his fortunes in Persia, and subsequently entered the service of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh. His reputation as an excellent governor had been fully established in the Punjab, and had even reached India, whilst he was in charge of the town and the surrounding country of Wuzeerabad. Soon after Peshawur fell into the hands of the Sikhs, their Maharajah shewed his usual sagacity by entrusting that important acquisition to General Avitabili.

Whilst the British camps were fixed near the capital of his government, he gave a series of sumptuous entertainments to our officers, followed on particular occasions by grand displays of fireworks and *nautches*, the insipid diversion of the wealthy in Affghanistan as well as in India. The readers of Mr. Elphinstone's admirable work will remember his mention of a noble *suræe* as one of the sights of Peshawur, then in its splendour, under the rule of Shah Shooja. In this place the present Governor of the city has established his military head quarters, and his civil and fiscal tribunals. It is called the Gorkhutru,* and is a vast quadrangle, the length of each side being two hundred and fifty yards. This has been rendered habitable, first by building a suite of apartments over the gateway nearest to the country, and next by erecting a very handsome dwelling in the Persian fashion, consisting of three stories, and a *rez-de-chaussée* on the side near the city.

The Governor is a man of princely habits. His dress, chargers, and equipages all partake

* *Gor*, گور, in Persian and Oordoo, signifies a burial ground, and *khut*, कुट, in the Hindee, a couch or bedstead. The etymologists of Peshawur affirm that there was formerly a cemetery on the site of the great *suræe*, and that it afterwards became the *tukya* of a fukeer, who placed his bed there.

of a splendour well calculated to uphold, by giving an *eclat* to his authority, amongst a people like the Affghans. He particularly, and very justly, piques himself on the excellence of his table, and keeps an establishment of not fewer than eight cooks, who are well versed in all the mysteries of Persian, English, and French gastronomy. He is, moreover, a frank, gay, and good-humoured person, as well as an excellent ruler and skilful officer. Notwithstanding his hospitality and magnificence, he is said to have amassed the sum of eight lakhs of rupees, which he has vested in British securities. I trust that the report of his wealth has not exceeded the truth, for I feel myself to be deeply his debtor for the kindest of receptions within the walls of the Gorkhutru. Sir Willoughby Cotton was detained at Peshawur from the beginning of November to the commencement of December, whilst the Governor-General had under consideration the matter of the command in Affghanistan, modified as its aspect had been by the arrival of the new Commander-in-Chief. During this long period, General Avitabili insisted on our considering ourselves as his guests, or, I might rather say, his kindness considered, a part of his family. Sir Willoughby Cotton and his first aide-de-camp occupied apartments

in his house, and my tent was pitched in the garden of the Gorkhutru.

Peshawur may contain forty thousand inhabitants. The circuit of its walls, which I often made, is not less than five miles. The houses are chiefly of mud and sun-dried brick, and have generally flat roofs, fenced round with a kind of stockade, within which the inmates sleep during the excessive heat of the summer months. By far the best view of the town is from the western windows of the Governor's house, or from its *balakhanu*. The great extent of buildings, bound in by a belt of gardens and orchards, is very striking. To the north is seen the garden of Timour Shah, full of yet beautiful cypresses; to the west, that of Alee Murdan Khan; and to the south, the extensive "pleasaunce" of the ambitious Wuzeer, Futih Khan. His mansions of delight and summer retreat are in ruins, and his alleys and parterres are desolate pictures of neglect and desertion; but there still remain, as monuments of his taste, two splendid double rows of orange trees, the foliage and girth of which remind the European traveller of the cherished specimens of royal care at Versailles.

The mosques of the city are said to have been once magnificent, and the principal temple near one of the northern gates certainly exhibits

proofs of former splendour in its lofty minarets. But the religious edifices of the Moslem faith have all been desecrated by the intolerant mandate of the great Sikh ruler, since the territory fell into his hands. The present fortress was built by General Avitabili on the site of the old palace of the Bala Hissar, in which Shah Shooja received Mr. Elphinstone in 1809. A square of about two hundred and twenty yards is strengthened by round towers at each angle, every curtain having in front of it a semi-circular ravelin. There is a *fausse braye* all round of substantial towers, and curtains corresponding with the inner *enciente*, and a wet ditch. This the General proposes to widen to fifty yards, adding a regular glacis. There is one gateway only, which is in the northward face, and protected by towers. In case of the first barrier, which is strong, being ruined, a column would have to win its way through two interior portals before it could make a lodgment in the body of the place. The walls are only of sun-dried mud, without brick or stone revetement; but it has been seen in Indian sieges how difficult it is to breach works of this material.

The walls of the place are not less than sixty feet in height, the *fausse braye* full thirty. There are extensive and well constructed magazines

and storehouses within the area of the fort, and under its ramparts, and the whole is kept in the highest order. The General, though in private life the mildest of men, rules the Peshawurees with a rod of iron; the only mode of governing a people so unprincipled as the Affghans, until their minds are opened, and their hearts softened by the benignant influence of education and religious instruction. During the first year of his government, five hundred of his Sikhs were assassinated by the people of the province; but the resolute Neapolitan soon put an end, by dint of severe examples, to these atrocities. We counted thirteen bodies, in all, on the gibbets around Peshawur, when we first arrived, and seven delinquents were executed during our stay. Even Khyberees, in the dens and caverns of their Kheils, tremble at the name of Avitabili.

But I must remember that though the consequences of many of the events to which my narrative refers will probably be influential for ages, the interest taken in them by the present generation will only endure until some newer political change shall put in its claim to engross attention. I hasten therefore to a conclusion. Sir John Keane reached Peshawur in very indifferent health on the 7th November, and the

second of our little columns on the 8th. On the 10th it was deemed advisable to throw a month's provisions and a considerable supply of ammunition into the fort of Alee Musjid. This was no easy operation now that the wrath of the Khyberees was fully roused, and their appetite for blood and plunder whetted by their success at the Nujeebs' *sunga*. Such small detachments of native infantry as could be got together proceeded, under the command of Captain Farmer, of the 21st native infantry, by the northern road to Alee Musjid.

They safely handed over their charge, but were attacked on their return in the narrowest portion of the pass by a body of these audacious little mountaineers. A detachment of five hundred Sikhs, which formed the rear guard, fled shamefully before their onset, and rushing headlong through the pass, threw into some disorder our sipahees, who, though they were ill supplied with ammunition, were boldly confronting the enemy. Profiting by this moment of confusion, the Khyberees came down with loud cries, and captured five hundred camels of the returning convoy. Lieutenant Mackeson, who had accompanied it, lost the whole of his personal baggage, and some valuable public property. Other officers fared no better; and these detach-

ments returned to Peshawur with the air of a worsted force. It was one of the consequences of this little reverse that the camp of the Commander-in-Chief was detained in the Sikh territories beyond the Attok, the loss of so many carriage animals being severely felt by the commissariat.

A further supply of ammunition was deemed necessary at Alee Musjid, in case of protracted attack, as the Khyberees in force prowled perpetually like wolves round the British post in the valley which secured the supply of water. Fortunately a small body of the Bengal Europeans, intended to become the *nucleus* of their second regiment, had marched down with us from Cabool to the frontier. Under their escort the magazine of this important mountain post was again replenished, but not without another skirmish, in which our detachments sustained a loss of two officers, and nine privates wounded. The Khyberees were, however, sharply repulsed.

During this commotion in the Teera mountains, our dawk communications were interrupted; but the Envoy, who had reached Jellalabad with the court, having been informed by express of the unsettled state of our relations with the Khyberree chiefs, and believing it to be the result of misapprehension respecting the

views of the King, determined himself to conduct a renewed negotiation with them on a clear and intelligible footing. He marched, therefore, down towards the frontier, accompanied by Brigadier Sale and the European regiment.

In the meantime Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler, of the 48th, at the head of his own and the 37th regiment, had moved by another route through the Teera range to Alee Musjid. On the day of his arrival, the Khyberee chiefs assembled there by Lieutenant Mackeson had fully accepted the basis of a treaty, by which the annual sum of eighty thousand rupees (eight thousand pounds sterling) was guaranteed to them, in consideration of which they were to be answerable for the tranquillity of the pass and the good conduct of the tribes. It caused some surprise, therefore, at Peshawur to hear that, as Colonel Wheeler pursued his way the next day towards that city, his rear guard was attacked by the mountaineers in considerable force. His native soldiers behaved with the most praiseworthy coolness, and repulsed the assailants, it is believed, with heavy loss. Colonel Wheeler on his part had about twenty sipahees wounded, and two European soldiers were left dead on the field. The attack was

most sudden and unexpected, and in the surprise of the moment, much of the baggage of the officers was plundered, and not a few followers were cut down by the mountaineers.

But before the intelligence of these last events reached Peshawur, the head-quarters of the army of the Indus were no longer under its walls. Sir John Keane marched from its vicinity to Pabbee on his route to Attock on the 23rd, and Major-General Thackwell on the 24th November. On the 3rd of December the Envoy and Minister, accompanied by Brigadier Sale, reached Peshawur, and was received with distinguished honours at the Gorkhutru by General Avitabili.* Guarded by the Bengal European regiment, he had passed without molestation through the defiles of the Khyber.

* It was at a grand entertainment given in honour of Mr. Macnaghten's arrival that a private letter from Sir Alexander Burnes conveyed to us at Peshawur the first intelligence of the gallant achievement of the Bombay troops, of their having won their way, after a sharp conflict, into the fortress of Kelat-i-Nuseer, and of our old enemy Mihrab Khan having half redeemed his character from the infamy of a long career of perfidy by falling like a soldier, with his sword in his hand, within the walls of his citadel. The assembled guests, leave being obtained from their kind and sympathizing host, did such honour to the event as it was in their power to do, by drinking with nine British cheers the health of the victors. The walls of the Gorkhutru had never probably echoed before to so loud a shout.

On the same morning a despatch from the Governor-General placed Sir Willoughby Cotton finally in command of the troops in Affghanistan. As his Lordship, when he came to this decision, was in possession of the news not only of the Khyberee insurrection, but of the advance of the Russians towards Khiva, it is to be supposed that he considered the state of the internal affairs and external relations of the Dooranee empire to require that the force left within its boundaries should be confided to a general officer at once of long standing, established reputation, and extensive and varied experience.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The return of part of the army of the Indus by the route of the Khyber afforded some of its officers an opportunity of forming an opinion of the resistance which might have been offered if the force had originally attempted to penetrate by this line. It is not to be doubted that its success would have been complete. It would have advanced from Ferozepore by a route of forty marches upon Peshawur, which is an excellent place of arms. From this city, and the fertile country around it and

behind it, the army would have drawn almost unlimited supplies of every kind. Certainly little dependence could have been placed on the active co-operation of our bearded allies, the Sikhs; but this would not have been needed. They would have protected our communications, which is all we should have asked at their hands.

The Khyberees are, without doubt, more formidable enemies in their barren defiles than the Belooches, or any of the predatory tribes of the mountains or plains which we encountered between Shikarpore and Cabool; but they are magnanimously indifferent to the politics of Affghanistan. "*Tros Tyriusve*," Barukzye or Sudozye, Shah Shooja or Dost Moohummud Khan, are equal in their eyes. They care not which of these rulers lords it in the Bala Hissar, provided they are left in the undisturbed enjoyment of their ancient privileges of levying tribute from Kafilas, or of mercilessly plundering all that resist the exaction, or receive from the existing government a handsome annual stipend in commutation of the sums raised in virtue of these rights of prescription. If, therefore, the British had satisfied them on these points, those reprobate mountaineers would have proved very cold allies of the Ameer in repel-

ling the invasion. But supposing he could have contrived, by dint of bribes and promises, to enlist their sympathies strongly on his side, which is most improbable, at the worst they would have been a source of uneasiness to us only from the two gorges of the pass near Kumdum and Jumrood to the town of Huzarnow, a distance of four marches. We could easily have afforded to keep this line of communication open by sowing it with posts, and traversing it occasionally with moveable columns.

But if the Ameer of Cabool had marched down to the Peshawur frontier with the flower of his forces, there is no reason to think that he could have arrested the progress of the army of the Indus. The two positions which he might most advantageously have taken up are—first, that of Alee Musjid; and next, the ground on which he actually meditated defence near the village of Duka. But from the turreted heights of the former it is probable that he would have been driven by our powerful batteries, whilst our highly-disciplined infantry would have gained, like Colonel Wade's irregular troops, the ridges of the mountains, and pressed him on both flanks. His left might have been turned at Duka by crossing the river below Lalpoora. The traverses between the table-land near Lal

Beg Gurhee and Lundee Khanu constitute a tremendous obstacle to an army marching from Cabool; but a force which has debouched on the cultivated slopes beyond Alee Musjid, and is directing its march towards the Dooranee capital, has the command from the top of the Lundee Khanu defile as far as Duka. We of the army of the Indus must not indeed forget that we did not see the Teera routes under their worst aspect, nor fail to acknowledge how much we owed on our return to the improving hand of Colonel Wade, whose pioneers had previously been employed for months in the passes; but making full allowance for this amelioration, we venture to think that we should, under any circumstances, have penetrated both the greater and the lesser Khyber.*

It becomes us to speak less confidently of the difficulties which have to be overcome between Gundamuk and Bootkhak. Certainly the succession of lofty ridges and wearisome ascents near Teezeen, Jugduluk, and Bareekab, would afford fearful vantage ground along the whole line; and if these heights were surmounted, it would not be an easy task to force either the Durru of Khoord Cabool or the Lutabund pass.

* The defiles between Duka and Huzarnow are commonly called the *khoord Khyber*, or little Khiber.

The army will not soon forget the frozen terrors of the former ; and though it avoided the latter on its return, it is known from the reports of travellers, and of Lieutenant Mackeson, who traversed it with a small escort, to be one of the most tremendous and impracticable defiles in Affghanistan. Strong ground was indeed abandoned to us in the valley of the Turnuk, and between Ghuznee and Cabool, when an impression had once been made by our arms, but in truth none so formidable as these two passes. They are to be esteemed far more serious obstacles to the advance of an army than the Khyberree *durru*, with its now celebrated tower of Alee Musjid ; yet it need not be doubted that a combined movement would have enabled us to pour out our squadrons and battalions upon the plains of Bootkhak, when the line of the Logur river would have been forced, and the siege of the Bala Hissar formed. The strength, in short, of the passes and mountain-holds of this route does not seem to outweigh the immense advantage of its being shorter and more direct. By this line our forces would have been brought rapidly, and in the highest order, upon the decisive points, instead of our troops being worn down, and our means of transport all but ruined, by tracking the extent of fifteen hundred miles

from Ferozepore to the Indus, from that river across the arid plains of Cutch Gundava, through the long frontier defiles of Beloochistan, and over the intervening wastes, mountain ranges, and valleys, to the eastern capital.

2°. The above is the opinion which, after traversing the ground, I have ventured to form of the Khyber route as a principal line of invasion; but in estimating the advantages of an attack from the Agra provinces on Affghanistan, commencing in the direction of its *eastern* capital, let me not be esteemed tedious if I advert once more to the notion, already partially developed in this work, of the great eligibility in many respects of the route by Dera Ismael Khan across the Soolueman range direct upon Ghuznee. It appeared to me, before the declaration of war had been issued, and does still, that it would have been good strategy to have produced the belief, by means of our allies the Sikhs, under their excellent commander, General Ventura, with whom the British troops of Colonel Wade's mission might have been associated also, that the grand attack was about to be made by Peshawur and the Khyber, whilst every disposition might have been secretly completed to enable the army of the Indus to march rapidly upon Dera Ismael Khan, establish its bridge

across the great river, or cross by means of the numerous boats which can be found upon its banks, and climb the Soolueman range, emerging at Ghuznee, which would then have fallen into its hands, and become the centre of its operations. Would not such a plan have abridged by some months the term of possible resistance of the Ameer of Cabool and the Sirdars of Candahar, against whom attacks might have been directed at will to the right or left from the captured fortress as a central point?

I have before mentioned that the practicability of this route was denied or doubted by Sir Alexander Burnes. No man in the army of the Indus could be more sincerely disposed than myself to defer to his opinion; but, besides the testimony to the contrary of peasants between Ghuznee and Cabool, I had at Peshawur an opportunity of questioning most pointedly on the subject Doctor Gordon, who had been a long time politically employed at Dera Ismael Khan. This very intelligent person assured me, as the result of the inquiries which he had instituted amongst the natives of the Soolueman range, that there were no fewer than three routes across these mountains from the above-mentioned town to Ghuznee, all and each of which our pioneers could have rendered practicable for artillery after

two or three days' labour. The best of these roads he considered to be that which followed the winding course of the Gomul river. On none of them did he apprehend any deficiency of forage or water.

At Lahore, Generals Ventura and Court, *savans* as well as able and intelligent officers, maintained in the strongest terms the advantages of advancing in this direction ; and the latter, to prove the road passable, called as his witness Doctor Martin Honigsberg, a German medical officer, in the service of the Maharajah, who had traversed the route with an unwieldly *kafila* of loaded camels. Lieutenant Marsh, of the 3rd light cavalry, has since passed by the road to Dera Ismael Khan from Candahar ; and Lieutenant Broadfoot, of the Bengal engineers, by one of those which conducts from Ghuznee to the same point on the Indus. I have not seen the reports of either officer, but cannot doubt, in the face of the testimony above adduced, that an armament might have successfully combined its operations with a force threading the defile of the Khyber, by moving from Dera Ismael Khan upon Ghuznee. If the insuperable aversion of our ally, the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, be urged as a decisive objection to this plan of operation, it can only

be replied, that the old ruler was probably too sagacious to have consented to forfeit entirely the advantages of his friendship with the British for the sake of these punctilios, if such a result had been pointed out to him as the absolute alternative in case of obstinate refusal. The line of advance might have been so chosen through the low country between Ferozepore, and Dera Ismael Khan, as not to have run offensively near to the Sikh capital.

3°. In the first of the two preceding sections, an endeavour has been made to shew the feasibility of a real and principal attack by the line of the Khyber; the second aims at demonstrating the advantages of a combined advance upon the eastern frontiers of Affghanistan, the weaker assault being made by the Teera defiles, and the decisive impression by the route of Dera and Ghuznee; yet I am not prepared, after mature reflection, to maintain that the soundest discretion was not after all manifested, when even subsequently to the raising of the siege of Herat, the army of the Indus persisted in operating on the line of Bhawulpore, Shikarpore, and the Durru of Bolan. The reasons which induced Lord Auckland to adhere to this plan were probably far more cogent than any which can be suggested in this work; but the

following considerations strike me as weighty, and may not be judged to be altogether nugatory by my readers.

(1.) Magazines had at a very early period been established upon the line of the Gharra, with a view to an advance to Shikarpore, and through Beloochistan. It would have been attended with a very grievous reduplication of the expense and much inconvenience to have changed the route in November, and the intelligence of the relief of Herat did not reach the Governor-General before that month.

(2.) The Bengal portion of the army of the Indus was concentrated at Ferozepore in the last week of November. If it had defiled by the Gomul, it is hardly to be doubted that it would have surmounted the mountain barrier and reached the plains around Ghuznee in thirty or forty marches, according to the obstacles it might have encountered during the latter part of its advance. It would there have been called upon to form the siege of the fortress, on the capture of which the result of the campaign would have depended, in the middle of January. The rigours of the climate at this season ought not to be forgotten or underrated. On the lofty table land on which Ghuznee is situated the troops would have found the tem-

perature far below the freezing point throughout the day, much lower than *zero* at night. The European soldiers might have braved the inclemency of the season, but our patient and faithful Hindoostanee battalions would have been tasked by the crisis almost beyond endurance. At present, the troops which garrison the ancient citadel of Muhmood can scarcely endure the cold when employed merely in the lighter duties of guarding our conquest. It is not easy to estimate all they would have suffered in the frozen trenches of a thirty days' siege. Ghuznee might only have fallen after a frightful loss in native soldiers and followers; unless indeed the genius and daring of the commander had cut the knot in the manner in which it was actually dissevered by Sir John Keane.* The army would have held cheaply the opposition which might have been offered on the route of Dera Ismael Khan and Ghuznee by the Wuzeeree tribes.

* At Ghuznee, Lord Keane caused Columbus' egg to stand on one end upon the table, but a crowd of sciolists, not taught by the fact, as the Spanish court was by the apologue, yet continue to stultify themselves by declaiming about the *simpli-*city of the operation. How little do the majority of those critics know by experience of the nerve which is required to decide aright and act promptly in a crisis like that of the 21st July! How few of their understandings would not have been prostrated by the emergency!

(3.) The wisdom of choosing the line of operation by the Bolan cannot be justly weighed, unless regard be had to the state of the British relations with Sind. The Ameers constituted an integral and formidable portion of the confederacy which Russian and Persian intrigue had organized against the ruling power in Hindoostan. The army of the Bombay Presidency was naturally, from the vicinity of its posts to the Hyderabad frontier, employed to coerce the Sindians with a view to detaching them from their dangerous alliances, and compelling their acceptance of a treaty of guarantees. When it was once determined to send that force into the field, it might justly be regarded as a strong recommendation in favour of an advance by the Bolan, that it enabled the Bengal troops to co-operate with their comrades of the western coast of India. A movement either by the Khyber or the road from Dera Ismael Khan, would have disconnected the efforts of the two Presidencies.

(4.) The native rulers of India have always regarded it as an acknowledgment of inferiority akin to vassalage to permit a body of the troops of another state to pass through their dominions. Nevertheless it seems probable that Runjeet Singh would have yielded to a categorical de-

mand. But let us suppose that he had remained intractable. War with him must have been the alternative. The loss of an ally on the eve of a great enterprise is in itself an evil; the risk of this was avoided by operating through the Bolan. On the other hand, by taking the line through Sinde we gained two positive advantages, whilst we forced a passage for our troops; for we had a *casus belli* with the Sindians on account of their Persian connexion, and whilst we expelled the Barukzyes, we effectually opened the Indus to our commerce.

(5.) In advancing by either the Khyber or the Gomul, as principal lines, the rear would have been exposed to the hostility of the Sikhs, if reverse had emboldened them to forget the claims of professed amity. The presence of General Duncan's division on the Sutlege provided in some measure against this danger, since at Ferozepore he could have been only five short marches from the Sikh capital. Perhaps a yet firmer ground of confidence was to be found in the hatred which existed between the Dooranees as Moohummedans, and the true disciples of the Grunth.* If the adequate notions which Runjeet entertained of our power had kept him

* Sacred code of the Sikh religion, composed by Nanuk Shah.

consistent to the end, still on the demise of the crown of the Punjab, which actually took place in July, 1839, his successor might not have been so discreet. To men of sanguine temperaments the danger may appear visionary, but the commander who found himself engaged with an enemy in his front at the eastern extremity of the Khyber, whilst forty thousand disciplined Sikhs interrupted his line of communication by occupying the defiles of the Jelum, or the Attock, or who, when hotly disputing with Affghans the road to Jellalabad, should have been made aware that the armies of the Maharajah blockaded the gorges of the Teera range near Jumrood, might have had cause to inveigh against the plan of campaign on which he was sent to act.

4°. On the whole, since it has been accepted as a maxim that the practice of war consists in a wise selection from the midst of conflicting evils and difficulties, the truth appears to be that though if the objections of the Sikh ruler had been wisely disregarded, the power of the Ameer of Cabool might have been rapidly beaten down by an assault by the army of the Indus on the single line of the Khyber, upon which the destruction of the Candahar princes would have speedily supervened, and though the same result would probably have been pro-

duced with as much certainty and more dispatch by the combination of a feint of the Sikhs against the Teera passes, and a real attack by the Goomul and Ghuznee, yet the safest, though slowest, and the best adapted to the general exigences of the crisis, was the project actually carried into effect, of causing the Bengal forces of the army of the Indus to sweep the left bank of the Gharra, to overcome and pacificate, in conjunction with the Bombay armament, the fraternity of Sindian rulers, and then to penetrate into Afghanistan by the more gradual ascents of the Bolan.

Duly subsidiary to this was the task of Colonel Wade, who passed the Jumrood frontier with the Sikh British force, and of General Duncan, who watched with his division from Ferozepore the Punjab on his right, and the Bhawulpore territories on his left. Will not this course, as actually pursued, appear to an impartial posterity to have been of all the most secure with a general view to our rather complicated relations and objects at the period at which hostilities were undertaken, although it was inseparable from the grievous disadvantage of a most extended and often interrupted communication?

This, or not far different from this, will, I venture to think, be the decision of the unpre-

judiced, when the several plans of Afghan invasion come hereafter to be weighed in the scales of historic judgment. Criticism, reviewing at the same time the whole course of the execution of the project, will enumerate as its defects the error of making the descent of the Bombay forces upon Sinde a maritime expedition instead of an organized advance by land; the imperfect reconnoissance before passing it of the mountain range of Khoju Amran; the neglect of the prompt pursuit of the Candahar Sirdars, when the reins of government had slipped from their hands; the leaving in their territories the battering train, which ought in prudence to have been carried on at any cost to prostrate the walls of Ghuznee and the Bala Hissar; and the detaching an inefficient force in the track of the fugitive of Urghundee Bala. These imputed mistakes are mentioned without reserve, because narratives like this can only be useful in proportion as they are candid and honest in their censures, without respect of persons. But this task performed, let it not be deemed a descent to the vile trade of adulation if a tribute of applause is as sincerely bestowed on the sound discretion which dictated the lateral movement into lower Sinde; on the decision and activity of the advance of a portion

of the Bengal force from Shikarpore upon Dadur and Kwettah; on the wisdom which forbade us to hazard our success and reputation by an ill-timed expedition beyond Hindoo Koosh; and the retrieving energy and well-balanced subsidiary arrangements which placed the citadel of Mahmood in our hands in little more than two hours, and transferred at once the tiara of the Dooranee empire to the brow of its rightful sovereign.

5°. Shah Shooja has been replaced on his throne, and since that event successive accounts from Koondooz have indicated that the most formidable enemy of his power, the ex-Ameer of Cabool, has daily become in himself less and less capable of any effort to disturb the peace of the restored empire. The number of his few remaining followers has been from time to time diminished by desertion. They have crossed the frontier line and repaired to our post at Bamian to tender their allegiance to the grandson of Ahmed Shah. This weakness and the snows of Hindoo Koosh have combined to give security to the Tartar frontier during the winter of 1839-40. Jellalabad was perhaps less closely connected with Cabool than could be desired for the post of the reserve of our line of defence towards Bulkh and Bokhara. The actual dis-

tance is only ten marches, but the exceedingly rugged character of the intervening country, and the difficulty of marching to the succour of the more advanced troops, would render an head-quarter beyond the Soorkhab the abode of anxiety, did we not reflect that at the period of the annual *villegiatura* of the court, the ice and snow, which only aggravate the difficulty of the communication between the capital and Jellalabad, wholly bar the passes of Hindoo Koosh. But this consideration, too, lost much of its importance whilst all prospects seemed to be closed upon Dost Moohummud Khan, save those of a wandering refugee (*quo fata vocent*) in Koondooz, Bokhara, or Persia.

This declension of his fortunes diminished, too, the evil of the Khyberee insurrection, which had, in November 1839, become sufficiently serious to cause the withdrawal from Jellalabad of every infantry regiment posted in that town. In the last week of that month, though Alée Musjid was still in our possession, a single camel-load of provisions could not be safely sent to it from Peshawur under a smaller escort than the wing of a regiment. Notwithstanding that opportune diversion, all remained actually tranquil on the frontier (the skirmishes of Doctor Lord with the Usbeks and Huzaras are

not material exceptions) throughout the first winter of Shah Shooja's restored reign; and in the interval it is to be hoped that his Hindoostanee troops have been effectively recruited, and that his Affghan levies have assumed a respectable form. It is known that the largest convoy of clothing, provisions, ammunition, and treasure ever sent from our provinces for the supply of the armament beyond the Attok, leaving Ferozepore in February, 1840, safely reached Jellalabad in April.

6°. The movement of the Khyberees, in October and November, 1839, was an event from which more evil was anticipated than has yet shewn itself. It may, without disparagement to an able and zealous servant of the state, peculiarly well versed in the history, and expert in the customs of the people around his own sphere of political activity, be attributed to the inauspicious haste of Colonel Wade on his return across the Indus. The Khyberees, understanding the nature and value of Affghan promises, and utterly incapable of comprehending British faith, believed that they had been cheated, and were filled with thoughts of vengeance, which Bacon has well defined to be only "a wild kind of justice." Hence the massacre of the Nujeebs and the attacks on our

posts and convoys. The Sikhs at Peshawur and these mountaineers keep a sort of running account of bloody and barbarous retaliation. It is owing to this circumstance that the troops of the Maharajah can with difficulty be persuaded to march beyond the Jumrood frontier, or enter the jaws of the *terrible* pass. It has been seen that on the 12th November they took to panic flight on the first onset of the ferocious little bandits. Our own sipahees defeated them wherever they fairly met them; but it must be acknowledged that they deserve the character of the most resolute and warlike of all the marauding tribes which harassed the columns of the army of the Indus.

The accounts of the population of the Teera mountains are rather rough guesses than statistical estimates; but it is believed that the different chiefs, if united, could collect six thousand armed men. This is a mountain militia justly to be accounted formidable when opposed in passes, of which its self-drilled soldiers have a perfect knowledge. Every Khyberee has been trained from infancy to aim with a long musket, the range of which far exceeds that of the ordinary firelock in use in the British ranks, and gives the brigands a great advantage in skirmishing on mountains scarcely accessible. It

is well known that for centuries this strange people have considered it their indefeasible right to levy imposts in the pass. Nadir Shah paid them an immense sum for the uninterrupted transit of the plunder of Delhi. Ahmud Shah, Timur Shah, Shah Shooja, and Dost Moohammad Khan have successively consented to be their tributaries. It is hoped that the conciliatory measures of the Envoy and Minister, fully in unison with the most favourable overtures of Lieutenant Mackeson, have pacified the Khyber.

The mountain chiefs are to receive from Shah Shooja's government eighty thousand rupees annually. With this they may perhaps rest satisfied; but should the untamed spirit of outrage and rapine break forth again, a war of extirpation is the only alternative. It would appear that this could hardly be brought to a favourable conclusion by a smaller force than two brigades of infantry. General Avitabili, who knows the Khyberees well, considers it to be the task of seven thousand good troops. The mountain chiefs, Fuez Tulub Khan, Khan Bahadoor Khan, Abdoolrahman, Misree, and others, are parties to the recent compact, and must feel it to be their interest to cause its conditions to be respected. Much will depend,

therefore, on the extent of their influence over their clans. Hereafter, the system of employing the mountaineers as local troops may be adopted with advantage. It is said, through the exertions of Captain Bean, the political agent at Kwettah, already to have given tranquillity to the Bolan pass, and security to Kafilas in its defiles. By the measure of local enlistment, the *virus* of predatory dispositions has always been absorbed, or converted into a useful prophylactic.

7°. The army of the Indus has, by the blessing of God, beaten down the Barukzyes, and Shah Shooja is reseated on the *musnud* of his ancestors. The first vast web of Russian cupidity and dissimulation, which was to have held fast all the Affghan tribes, has been swept away, and the artifices of the Autocrat with respect to the politics of Persia, Herat, Candahar, and Cabool, have been so thoroughly unmasked and defeated as to cause him to look small in the eyes of the potentates and statesmen of Europe. He has, when boldly questioned as to the motives and meaning of his policy, disavowed the acts of his minister, who again has sacrificed his inferior agents. Deceived and deserted by this great power, Kohun Dil Khan and Dost Moohummud Khan wander nameless and power-

less fugitives. In all this the British ought to see much cause for thankfulness; but to the Governor-General of India, *whose influence through his Envoy and Minister ought to be paramount and uncontrolled at the court of the Bala Hissar*, may well be addressed at this moment the admonition of Milton,

“ Oh, yet a nobler task awaits thine hand ! ”

Our connexion with the Dooranee empire is of a peculiar nature, and ought not to be restricted by the ordinary rules of intercourse with Asiatic states. It owes to us its being; we have resuscitated, recreated it; we have a right to exercise an unlimited influence over its councils, and are justified in the most unrestrained interference in its affairs. We owe it to the Affghan people to make Shah Shooja's government a blessing to them;* and this can only be done in one way, by gradually but steadily uprooting that imperfect species of feudal system which has been their curse, which “neutralizes the authority of the king, without giving any substantive or useful enjoy-

* No man can be better fitted for this task by the prudence of his character, his extensive experience in Asiatic affairs, and enviable acquaintance with the languages of the higher orders in Persia and Affghanistan than the present Envoy and Minister. Few servants of the Indian government have of late days enjoyed a grander opportunity of doing permanent good.

ment of power to the chiefs,"* and keeps alive that spirit of envy of which Sir Alexander Burnes has well said, that it "has dethroned their kings, and butchered their nobles." *In the place of this, we must substitute everywhere a British intendancy.* A modus of equable and regular taxation must be established in every district, and a vigilant and effective police organized for the protection of person and property. These are advantages which the Affghans would soon learn, like other nations, to appreciate, though they would be entirely new to them.

It is a mistake to suppose that any people can love to be oppressed, ground by arbitrary and uncertain exactions, or robbed and murdered in villages and on highways, to whatever extent custom may have reconciled them to the inevitable endurance of these mischiefs. Let not the people of England suppose that by such reforms as have been adverted to we should impose a grievous yoke on the necks of the Dooranees. The truth is, that if their choice lay between Dost Moohummud Khan and Shah Shooja,

* These are almost word for word the terms in which this system was described to me by one who know the Affghans well, Major Pottinger, the defender of Herat. I was struck with the fidelity of the picture; and the substance of the remark fully confirmed my own opinion formed in the country.

uncurbed by any external power, it is probable that they would prefer the former; but the rule of the latter is acceptable to them *because* they consider him under the guidance of the Feringees, and they would be still better pleased to bend to the undisguised and direct control of the British, since they have already felt their presence to be a source of wealth and prosperity to them, and perfectly understand that their government is a guarantee for equitable rule and personal security. The more they are made to feel the advantages of our influence, the less likely will they be to sigh for the return of the Barukzyes, or to desire the approach or domination of the *Ooroos*.*

8°. As regards our power of retaining that position in Affghanistan which we have gained at the expense of some blood, and not a little treasure, an important consideration is, the state of our communications through the Punjab, and our relations with its ruler. It is well known that the late Maharajah, like all Indian potentates, had an undisguised aversion to his territories being traversed by our troops. But the best proof of this old prince's natural tact and sagacity was, the rational estimate which he had

* Thus Asiatics denominate the Russians.

formed of the British power. This rendered the task of negotiation with him comparatively simple. But the "Lion of the Punjab" paid the debt of nature on the day on which the British marched out of Candahar.

Kurruck Singh, the eldest son of Runjeet, who now occupies the *guddee*, is a prince of the most limited range of intellect, and of a disposition which peculiarly fits him to become the dupe of designing men. Accordingly, the first incident in his reign was his bestowing on an upstart relation, named Cheth Singh, such a proportion of his favour as alienated the affections of his father's counsellors, and roused the jealous feelings of the Sirdars. A conspiracy was speedily formed against this minion, which was headed by Nou Nihal Singh, the son and heir apparent of the ruling Maharajah. Dhyan Singh, the Rajpoot favourite of Runjeet, and his brothers, Goolab Singh and Soochet Singh, the three boldest, most powerful, and most independent chiefs in the empire, were actively engaged in the complot, as were the Jemadar Kooshial Singh, and nearly all the most considerable Sikhs about the court. The measures of the conspirators were quickly concerted. Kurruck Singh was at the time at the palace at Umritsir, whither the enemies of the new fa-

vourite repaired, full of schemes of vengeance. A sentinel was put to death at the gate of the *muhul*, with the view of gaining admission to it, and the unfortunate Cheth Sing dragged out from the presence of the Maharajah, and put to death in an adjoining chamber with circumstances of great barbarity, and of marked indignity towards his master. It was Nou Nihal Singh who brought out the victim from the feet of his father, and delivered him over to his executioners. His own hands were afterwards imbrued in the blood of the royal confidant, and he looked on and applauded the deed when Goolab Singh dealt the finishing stroke, which cleft his skull. Condign punishment has never been inflicted upon the murderers, nor has the outrage to the feelings of the Maharajah in his own palace ever been properly resented.

Since this event, Nou Nihal Singh has exercised a paramount influence over his imbecile father, being himself entirely under the control of a foolish and ambitious mother, and she under that of a low-born and despicable paramour, named Ram Singh. It is hard to say in what this state of things may end. The ruler being a cypher, there is a continual struggle for pre-eminence amongst the Sirdars. Out of these elements of discord it seems not improbable

that, as has occurred at other native courts, a party at no distant period may be formed inimical to British interests. At present, the professions of the Sikh ruler and his son are the very reverse of this. They lavished hospitalities and marks of their consideration upon the small fragment of the army of the Indus which traversed their territories, and their victorious leader. This is well; but as all our convoys of supply for our troops in Afghanistan must necessarily traverse a part of the Sikh dominions, for which permission has hitherto been granted with undisguised reluctance, it is natural that we should henceforth regard with a peculiar interest all the variations of politics in the Punjab. The British have no desire to despoil their neighbours, least of all to seek to deprive an ally of that which they have solemnly guaranteed to him; but the unsatisfactory state of their communications with Afghanistan through the Punjab must strike every observer. If they are wise, they will as soon think of ceding Fort William as of relaxing their hold on Cabool; yet they are unable to send direct from the Agra provinces a single soldier or camel load of provisions into the Dooranee empire without leave specially obtained from a foreign power.

Henceforth there can be no medium, there-

fore, in the character of our relations with the Sikhs; they must either be established on a footing of the closest intimacy, and of undissembled confidence, or change at once into avowed hostility. This view of our policy may, in truth, be extended to our connexion with every independent state in Asia; for whilst this imperfect sketch has been making its way through the press, rumour has been converted into certainty, and it has become known that Russia, instead of using, as against Herat, the arm of another, has now employed her own battalions in the invasion of a part of Independent Tartary. However fair the pretexts may be for this first step in her career of acquisition in this part of Central Asia, it has justly been regarded as a measure of retaliation for our successful interference in the affairs of Affghanistan. Russia has therefore formally confronted us, and made a rival exhibition of her power in Asia. She has by this act divided at once a whole quarter of the globe into two distinct parties; for we ought not henceforth to give credence to any professions of neutrality from the lips of our neighbours. Those who are not decidedly for us may be justly assumed to be unequivocally against us, and every act which deviates ever so little from the path of consistent amity may be

safely regarded as a tendency to participation in the schemes of our gigantic competitor. If we are asked what these are apprehended to be, there is but one answer to be given to the inquiry, *ambition has a thousand objects, but no definite end.* Two such large masses as England and Russia cannot approach each other on the ocean of Asiatic influence without drawing after either the one or the other, all the smaller bodies which are floating around them.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

**DECLARATION ON THE PART OF THE RIGHT HON.
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.**

Simla, October 1st, 1838.

THE Right Honourable the Governor-General of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus, his Lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.

It is a matter of notoriety that the treaties entered into by the British Government in the year 1832, with the Ameers of Sind, the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and Maharajah Runjeet Singh, had for their object, by opening the

navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation in Central Asia that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.

With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Affghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties, Captain Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mahomed Khan, the Chief of Cabul. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature. Whilst Captain Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabul, information was received by the Governor-General that the troops of Dost Mahomed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maharajah Runjeet Singh. It was naturally to be apprehended that his Highness the Maharajah would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British government would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Governor-General resolved on authorizing Captain Burnes

to intimate to Dost Mahomed Khan that, if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah, his Lordship would exert his good offices with his Highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers. The Maharajah, with the characteristic confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation, at once assented to the proposition of the Governor-General to the effect that, in the meantime, hostilities on his part should be suspended.

It subsequently came to the knowledge of the Governor-General that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Affghanistan for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of her Majesty's mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain.

After much time spent by Captain Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabul, it appeared that Dost Mahomed Khan, chiefly in conse-

quence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in urging the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Governor-General could not, consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his Highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately, he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Affghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well apprized, and, by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabul without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

It was now evident that no further interference could be exercised by the British government to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh ruler and Dost Mahomed Khan; and the hostile policy of the latter chief shewed too plainly that, so long as Cabul remained under

his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian empire would be preserved inviolate.

The Governor-General deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British Envoy at the court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Governor-General would yet indulge the hope that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence until succours shall reach them from British India. In the meantime, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British government, have been, by succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Governor-General has recently ascertained by an official despatch from Mr. McNeill, her Majesty's Envoy, that his Excellency has been compelled, by the re-

fusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian government, to quit the court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two governments. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian arms into Affghanistan as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of her Majesty's government.

The chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabul) have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy, with the same full knowledge of its opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India, and have been openly assisting in the operations against Herat.

In the crisis of affairs consequent upon the retirement of our Envoy from Cabul, the Governor-General felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories.

His attention was naturally drawn at this conjuncture to the position and claims of Shah-Sooja-ool-Moolk, a monarch who, when in

power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present rulers, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions.

It had been clearly ascertained, from the information furnished by the various officers who had visited Affghanistan, that the Barukzye chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to the British government, and to aid us in our just and necessary measures of national defence. Yet so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interest and security, the British government acknowledged and respected their authority. But a different policy appeared to be now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and to be indispensable to our own safety. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should have on our western frontier an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement.

After a serious and mature deliberation, the

Governor-General was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us in espousing the cause of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Affghanistan had been proved to his Lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Governor-General was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British government, that his Highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations; Mr. Macnaghten was accordingly deputed, in June last, to the court of his Highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a tripartite treaty by the British government, the Maha Rajah, and Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, whereby his Highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of discussion between the British government

and his Highness the Maha Rajah, the identity of whose interests with those of the honourable Company has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Sind; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the measures completed or in progress it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the nations of central Asia, that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India, and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment.

His Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk will enter Affghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor-General

has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown ; but he rejoices that in the discharge of this duty he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Affghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit, to reconcile differences, to secure oblivion of injuries, and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Affghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

By order of the Right Hon. the Gov.-Gen. of India.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Gen.

NOTIFICATION.

With reference to the preceding declaration the following appointments are made :—

Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, secretary to Government, will assume the functions of Envoy and Minister on the part of the government of India at the court of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk. Mr. Macnaghten will be assisted by the following officers:—

Captain Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay establishment, who will be employed under Mr. Macnaghten's directions as Envoy to the chief of Kelat or other states.

Lieutenant E. D'Arcy Todd, of the Bengal artillery, to be Political Assistant and Military Secretary to the Envoy and Minister.

Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery; Lieutenant R. Leech, of the Bombay Engineers; Mr. P. B. Lord, of the Bombay Medical Establishment, to be Political Assistants to ditto ditto.

Lieutenant E. B. Conolly, of the 6th regiment of Bengal cavalry, to command the escort of the Envoy and Minister, and to be Military Assistant to ditto ditto.

Mr. G. J. Berwick, of the Bengal Medical Establishment, to be Surgeon to ditto ditto.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,

Sec. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Gen.

No. 2.

**GENERAL ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.***Head Quarters, Simla, 13th Sept. 1838.***ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF INDIA.***Secret Department, Simla, 10th Sept. 1838.*

It being the intention of the government to employ a force beyond the north-west frontier of India, and his Excellency General Sir Henry Fane, G. C. B., Commander-in-Chief in India, having acquiesced in the wish of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, that he should take upon himself the command of the troops to be assembled on the occasion, his Lordship avails himself of his services; and his Excellency is accordingly requested to issue such orders for the organization of the force as he may deem expedient.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

WM. CASEMENT, M.G.
Sec. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is pleased, with the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, to make the following appointments of officers for the staff duties of the troops under orders for field service:—

To be Brigadiers of the 2nd Class.

Colonel W. Nott, 42nd regiment native infantry.

Colonel J. Dennis, her Majesty's 3rd buffs.

Colonel R. H. Sale, C.B. her Majesty's 13th lt. infantry.

Colonel R. Arnold, her Majesty's 16th lancers.

Lieut. Colonel T. Worsley, 28th reg. native infantry.

Lieut. Colonel A. Roberts, European regiment.

Lieut. Colonel C. Graham, 1st brigade horse artillery.

To be Majors of Brigade.

Brevet Major T. C. Squire, her Majesty's 13th lt. infan.

Captain T. Polwhele, 42nd reg. native infantry.

Captain H. C. Boileau, 28th reg. native infantry.

Captain P. Hopkins, 27th reg. native infantry.

Brevet Captain J. B. Backhouse, 1st brigade horse artil.

Captain A. W. Tayler, European regiment.

Brevet Captain C. F. Havelock, her Majesty's 16th lan.

To be an officiating Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General of the 2nd Class.

Lieut. A. Sanders, 44th reg. native infantry.

To be Chief Engineer.

Captain G. Thomson, commanding sappers and miners.

To be Field Engineers.

1st Lieutenant H. H. Duncan,

2nd Lieutenant J. Laughton.

To be Commissary of Ordnance.

Captain E. F. Day, 5th battalion of artillery.

To be Field Surgeon.

Surgeon R. M. M. Thomson, 14th reg. native infantry.

To be Medical Store-Keeper.

Assistant Surgeon M. J. M. Ross, Her Majesty's 16th lancers.

To be Baggage Master.

Brevet Captain C. Troup, 48th regiment native infantry.

2. The above appointments are to have effect from the 1st of November next, inclusive.

3. The officers commanding the artillery with the force, her Majesty's 16th lancers, 3rd buffs, and European regiment, will forward to head quarters the names of non-commissioned officers of their several corps; the first to fill the office of Provost Marshal, the second for that of Assistant Baggage Master, and the two last for the appointment of Deputy Provost Marshal to the divisions to which their regiments respectively belong.

4. The troops are to be formed into divisions and brigades, and the staff officers are to be attached to them in the manner set forth in the annexed detail.

5. The general officers named to command divisions will be pleased to take care that good ground is early selected near to Kurnaul, for the proper encampment of the several corps on

their arrival; and that all necessary commissariat arrangements are completed.

6. They will proceed, without any delay, to organize the several brigades, and to form their respective divisions, in conformity to the ordered detail.

7. They will carefully ascertain that the equipments of the corps under their respective commands are in all respects complete, and as they should be; and also that all the arrangements directed have been carried into effect respecting the depots for the recruits, and heavy baggage; and for the soldiers' families.

8. For these purposes the troops will halt six days at Kurnaul; after which they will march in four columns on Ferozepore on the Sutlej, where the army will be assembled.

Routes for their respective marches will be furnished hereafter.

9. The bulk of the Engineers' tools and stores will be sent from Delhi with the park of the heavy artillery, with such guard of sappers as Captain Thomson may deem necessary; and the residue of the companies will march with their respective divisions of infantry, having with them the requisite portion of tools, to aid in overcoming any impediments which may present themselves on their lines of march.

10. The officers appertaining to the general staff, who may assemble at Kurnaul, will march with the right column of the army, by Umballah; and will assume their respective posts at Ferozepore.

11. The Superintending Surgeon will take care that the medical officers of divisions have all proper arrangements made for conveying forward casual cases of sickness which may occur on the march.

12. In some of our marches the supply of water may prove scanty, and where it must be drawn from wells for a large body of troops, careful arrangement is always necessary; and the commanding officers of regiments should establish strict regulations to preserve order at these places.

13. The soldiers must be taught always to recollect that many of their brother soldiers are marching behind them; and that needless injury can never be done, or waste committed, on a line of march, which does not bring trouble or inconvenience on those following them.

GENERAL STAFF.

His Excellency General Sir Henry Fane, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, to command the force.

Colonel M. Beresford, Military Secretary.

Lieut. Col. H. Fane, H. M.'s 11th drag.,
 Captain J. Michel, H. M.'s 3d buffa,
 Lieut. H. Fane, H. M.'s 17th reg.
 Lieut. R. H. Yea, H. M.'s 4th reg.

} Aides-de-Camp.

Captain J. Hay, 35th regiment native infantry, Persian
 Interpreter.
 Dr. A. Wood, H. M.'s 3d light dragoons, Surgeon.

Major P. Craigie, Depy. Adjut. General.
 Major J. Byrne, Assistant Adjutant Gen. Queen's
 Troops.
 Major W. Garden, Deputy Quarter Master General.
 Captain G. Thomson, Chief Engineer.
 Major J. D. Parson, Deputy Commissary General.
 Captain H. R. Osborn, Assistant Commissary General.
 Captain T. J. Nuthall, Deputy Assistant Commissary
 General, (in executive charge at head quarters.)
 Surgeon G. Playfair, Superintending Surgeon of the
 Meerut division, Superintending Surgeon.
 Surgeon R. M. M. Thomson, 14th regiment native in-
 fantry, Field Surgeon.
 Brevet Major W. Hough, 48th regiment native infantry,
 Deputy Judge Advocate General, Dinapore division,
 Deputy Judge Advocate General.
 Brevet Captain C. Troup, 48th regiment native infantry,
 Baggage Master.

DIVISIONAL STAFF.

1st Division of Infantry.

Major General Sir W. Cotton, C.B. and K.C.H., to
 command.
 Captain W. Cotton, H. M. 44th reg. Aide-de-Camp.

Captain J. D. Douglas, 58d regiment native infantry,
Assistant Adjt. General.

Lieut. H. Kewney, 50th regiment native infantry, Depy.
Assist. Quarter Master General.

Lieut. J. Laughton, Field Engineer.

Captain A. Watt, Depy. Asst. Commissary General,
commissariat officer.

The Rev. ———, Chaplain.

BRIGADE STAFF.

1st Brigade.

Colonel Sale, C.B., H. M. 13th light infantry, Brigadier.
Brevet Major Squire, H. M. 13th light infantry, Major
of Brigade.

Lieut. Simpson, Sub-Assistant Commissary General,
commissariat officer.

Corps.

16th regiment native infantry.

Her Majesty's 13th light infantry.

48th regiment native infantry.

2d Brigade.

Col. Nott, 42d regiment native infantry, Brigadier.

Captain Polwhele, 42d regiment native infantry, Major
of Brigade.

Corps.

42d regiment native infantry.

31st regiment native infantry.

43d regiment native infantry.

3rd Brigade.

Colonel Dennis, H. M. 3rd buffs, Brigadier.

Captain Hopkins, 27th regiment native infantry, Major
of Brigade.

Corps.

27th regiment native infantry.
Her Majesty's 3rd buffs.
2nd regiment native infantry.
A company of sappers and miners.

DIVISIONAL STAFF.

2nd Division of Infantry.

Major General A. Duncan, to command.
Lieutenant A. H. Duncan, 43rd regiment native infantry, Aide-de-Camp.
Captain L. N. Hull, 16th regiment native infantry, Asst. Adj. Genl.
Lieutenant A. Sanders, 44th regiment native infantry, Depy. Asst. Quarter Master General.
Lieut. H. H. Duncan, Field Engineer.
Lieut. Skinner, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, commissariat officer.
The Rev. ——— Chaplain.

BRIGADE STAFF.

4th Brigade.

Lieut. Colonel Roberts, European regiment, Brigadier.
Captain Tayler, European regiment, Major of Brigade.

Corps.

35th regiment native infantry.
European regiment.
37th regiment native infantry.

5th Brigade.

Lieut. Col. Worsley, 28th reg. native infantry, Brigadier.
Capt. Boileau, 28th reg. native infantry, Major of Brigade.

Corps.

5th regiment native infantry.

28th regiment native infantry.

59rd regiment native infantry.

A company of sappers and miners.

BRIGADE STAFF.*Cavalry Brigade.*

Col. Arnold, H. M. 16th lancers, Brigadier.

Brevet Captain Havelock, H. M. 16th lancers, Major of Brigade.

Lieutenant Reddie, Sub-Asst. Commissary General, commissariat officer.

Corps.

2nd regiment light cavalry.

Her Majesty's 16th lancers.

3rd regiment light cavalry.

BRIGADE STAFF.*Artillery.*

Lieut. Col. Graham, horse artillery, Brigadier.

Brevet. Capt. J. B. Backhouse, horse artillery, Major of Brigade.

Captain E. F. Day, 5th battalion artillery, Commissary of Ordnance.

Lieut. Newbolt, Sub-Assistant Commissary General, commissariat officer.

Corps.

2nd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery.

3rd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery.

3rd company 2nd battalion.

4th company 2nd battalion.

2nd company 6th battalion.

14. A strict performance of all duties by guards and picquets must be carefully enforced from the commencement of the march, so that proper habits may be early established. The details for these should never be larger than circumstances render imperative, as the more soldiers on service are spared from unnecessary fatigue the better.

15. An officer in command of a brigade must never be satisfied until he has personally seen that the picquets of his brigade are properly posted.

16. The greatest happiness which could befall his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the reflection which would be most gratifying to him during the remainder of his life, would be, if he could be enabled to carry through the duties entrusted to him without the infliction of any punishment whatever. It is only from good discipline that such a result can be possible, and he calls on every officer and non-commissioned officer, with the army, to aid him in maintaining that which is so very desirable.

17. At the same time that he proclaims what he so much wishes, he makes known to the soldiers that the necessity for good behaviour on their part is so important for their own advantage as well as for the general success, that he

will repress disorders, and breaches of discipline, and neglect of duty, with a strong hand.

18. He has the utmost confidence in the courage of the troops placed under his command, and if with that good quality, strict discipline be combined, his Excellency doubts not that the detachment of the Bengal army will return to Hindoostan having acquired high honour for themselves and advantage for their country.

No. 3.

GENERAL ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters, Simla, 22nd October, 1838.

1. With the approbation of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, the army assembling for duty in the field will be denominated "The Army of the Indus."

2. Previous to the advance of the troops from the Jumna, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having in view the unusual duties which many of the officers will be called on to discharge for the first time, offers, for their consideration, a few topics, the result of his experience.

3. All know that discipline is esteemed the first quality in an army to ensure success in any

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military operation; but all are not aware of how small a part of the discipline of an army in the field is comprised in what is considered "discipline" in the ordinary acceptation of the term.

4. One of its most essential points on service is, the watchfulness which every individual should bestow on the manner in which the grades below him discharge their duties; and in every officer's not only performing his own duty with correctness, but in his seeing that the duties of the class immediately below him are also correctly discharged.

5. Thus, the officers commanding divisions must be watchful over the commanders of brigades; and they over the officers commanding regiments; who, in their turn, must take care that their captains perform their duties strictly; and so through all grades down to the non-commissioned officers of squads.

6. Officers on service in the field must esteem their own personal convenience but the secondary consideration; the care of the soldiers under their charge the first. No commanding officer of a regiment or a company, on the termination of a march, must attend to his own business until the soldiers under his command are properly disposed of in their camp, and the necessary arrangements are in progress for the

- supplies for the men or forage for the horses.
- The casual sick also require immediate attention.

7. A troop or company on service should never be dismissed after a march until a scrutiny has been made by the officers belonging to it, into any accident which may have happened to the arms or accoutrements of their men or horses during the previous movement, and orders are given for the requisite repairs. At the evening parades everything should be again in order. The ammunition in pouch should be carefully looked to; and the act of making away with any be invariably punished.

8. Officers commanding regiments must be very attentive to the regularity of their column of march, since the more or less of fatigue to their men greatly depends on this point.

The falling out of the ranks by individuals should always be checked as much as possible; and when a man does fall out, his firelock is invariably to be carried forward by his next file under orders from the commander of the section. A halt and a piling of arms for five minutes in every hour prevents the necessity for individuals frequently quitting the ranks.

9. Good conduct towards the inhabitants of a country passed through, both on the part of

officers and soldiers, is another very essential part of good discipline. All plundering or ill-treatment of them must be most carefully repressed; and in foraging, or other unavoidable encroachments on their property, every unnecessary injury should be abstained from.

10. All encouragement by good treatment should be given to the country people bringing articles for sale to the bazars, as many of the comforts of the army may depend much on this point.

11. Whenever camps are near to towns or villages, safeguards must be placed in them to prevent all pillage or marauding, or misconduct of any kind, by stragglers from the army, or its followers; and when such places are passed on the line of march, small guards should be detached from the head of the column to prevent stragglers entering them; which guards should join and come forward with the rear guard of the column.

No. 4.

ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-
IN-CHIEF TO THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Munny Mojra, 8th November, 1838.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General having been pleased to authorize the ap-

pointment of a second aide-de-camp to each of the Major Generals commanding a division of infantry in the army of the Indus, Major-General Sir W. Cotton and Major-General A. Duncan are requested to forward to head quarters the names of the officers they may severally select for the duty.

No. 5.

ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Camp Budder, 8th November, 1838.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India is pleased to publish for general information the subjoined extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, dated Herat, 10th September, 1838, and addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India.

“ I have the honour, by direction of her Britannic Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and the honourable the East India Company’s Envoy at the court of Persia, to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in council, that his Majesty, the Shah of

Persia, yesterday raised the siege of this city, and with the whole of the royal camp marched to Sung-butt, about twelve miles, on his return to his own dominions. His Majesty proceeds without delay by Toorbut, Sheekh-i-jaum and Meshid, to Teheran.

“ This is in fulfilment of his Majesty’s compliance with the demands of the British government, which I had the honour of delivering on the 12th instant, and of the whole of which his Majesty announced his acceptance on the 14th of August. His Majesty, Shah Kamran, and his Wuzeer, Yar Moohummud Khan, and the whole city, feel sensible of the sincerity of the British government, and Mr. Pottinger and myself fully participate in their gratitude to Providence for the happy event which I have now the honour to report.”

In giving publicity to this important document, the Governor-General deems it proper at the same time to notify, that while he regards the relinquishment by the Shah of Persia of his hostile designs upon Herat as a just cause of congratulation to the government of British India and its allies, he will continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern pro-

vinces of Affghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our north-west frontier.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General is pleased to appoint Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay artillery, to be Political Agent at Herat, subject to the orders of the Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Soojool-Moolk. This appointment is to have effect from the 9th September last, the date on which the siege of Herat was raised by the Shah of Persia.

In conferring the above appointment upon Lieutenant Pottinger, the Governor-General is glad of the opportunity afforded him of bestowing the high applause which is due to the signal merits of that officer, who was present in Herat during the whole of its protracted siege, and who, under circumstances of peculiar danger and difficulty, has, by his fortitude, ability, and judgment, honourably sustained the reputation and interests of his country.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India,

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Govt. of India with the Gov.-Gen.

No. 6.

GENERAL ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, 27th November, 1838.

1. Circumstances in the countries west of the Indus have so greatly changed since the assembly of this army for service, that the Right Honourable the Governor-General has deemed that it is not requisite to send forward the whole force; but that a part only will be equal to effecting the future objects in view.

2. His Lordship has therefore been pleased to instruct his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as follows:—

The whole of the cavalry, one troop of horse artillery, one battery of 9 prs. and the artillery of the park, the sappers and miners, and three brigades of infantry, shall go forward; and the remainder of the troops will await further orders at Ferozepore.

3. The lot to go forward has fallen on the troops enumerated as follows:—

The 2nd troop 2nd brigade of horse artillery.

The camel battery of 9 prs.

The 1st, 2nd, and 4th brigades of infantry.

The division of infantry to be commanded by

Major-General Sir W. Cotton, being the senior major-general.

4. The troops to go forward and those to remain in Hindoostan may make their arrangements accordingly. The head of the column will move on as soon as possible after the army shall have been reviewed by the Rt. Hon. Governor-General and the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh.

Whatever alterations may be requisite in the details of the staff will be communicated in a future order.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief deems this a fitting opportunity for expressing the gratification which he has received from witnessing the alacrity evinced by all ranks of the army to serve their country on the present occasion, and from their excellent conduct on their march from the Jumna to the Sutlej. He assures them that had their services been still required in advance, and had he had the pleasure of leading them forward, he would have met any troops which might have been opposed to them with a full confidence of success, founded on their courage and excellent discipline, and on the zeal of the officers he has had the honour to command.

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

P. CRAIGIE, Major,
Depy. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

No. 7.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, 4th Dec. 1838.

The following notification having been received by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, he publishes it for the information of the army :—

NOTIFICATION.

ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Camp at Ferozepore, 30th Nov. 1838.

The retreat of the Persian army from before Herat having been officially announced to the government, as notified to the public on the 8th instant, the circumstances no longer exist which induce the Right Honourable the Governor-General to solicit a continuance of the services of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with a view to his conducting military operations to the west of the Indus, and, as it is probable that her Majesty will graciously acquiesce in the wish of the Commander-in-Chief, to be relieved from his command in February next, the Right Honourable the Governor-

General is pleased to dispense with his Excellency's services in the field, and will direct other arrangements for the command of the army of the Indus.

The Governor-General has on this occasion to record his grateful sense of the readiness with which his Excellency has been (as he is yet) prepared to postpone every personal consideration to the service of his country.

By order, &c.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,

Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Gen.

Under these altered circumstances, the command of the detachment of the Bengal army is to be assumed by Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H., who will hereafter receive instructions for his proceedings. The temporary command of the first division of infantry will devolve on the senior Brigadier of the division, and the command of his brigade on the senior officer commanding a regiment of the division.

By order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

J. R. LUMLEY, Major-General,

Adjutant-General of the Army.

No. 8.

ORDERS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ferozepore, 4th Dec. 1838.

In furtherance of the foregoing Army General Orders, Major-General W. Nott, of the 2nd brigade, is appointed temporarily to the command of the first division of the army of the Indus; and Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, the senior officer of the force not holding a Line command, is nominated to the command of the 2nd brigade during the period Major-General Nott may remain in charge of the 1st division.

Major-General Sir W. Cotton's column will commence its march on the 10th instant, and it will proceed in the following order—viz., Brigadier Arnold's brigade, with the 2nd troop 2nd brigade horse artillery attached to it; the brigades of infantry by brigades on three successive days; the camel brigade of nine pounders to march with the 2nd brigade, and it is to be considered as attached to the division of infantry in future movements; one risallah of local horse

is to march with each brigade of infantry, and brigadiers will take especial care of them, and see that they are not unnecessarily harassed. Brigadier Skinner will make this distribution.

The artillery and engineer train will march the next in succession, and they also will be accompanied by a risallah of horse. The remainder of the local horse will close the rear of the column on the sixth day, and Brigadier Skinner will have an eye to stragglers and to all irregularities.

Major Pew, of the artillery, will consider the battery of the division and the train under his especial supervision; and when the whole body of artillery chance to be together, he will exercise the ordinary control over the whole as senior officer. The Commissary of Ordnance will, of course, be in charge of the park and the stores.

Major-General Sir W. Cotton will be so good as to see that every brigade is fully equipped in accordance with the regulations before it departs, and has its due supplies and commissariat means.

His Excellency takes this opportunity of reminding commissariat officers that, after their departure from Ferozepore, the army will depend for its resources on them alone, and that failure on the part of the civil officers will not be con-

sidered by him as a justification for any wants whatever.

He desires them to reflect on the highly-important consequences to the army and the government of failure in their department. The commissariat officer of each division or brigade will be considered by the Commander-in-Chief as strictly responsible on these subjects.

The bridge of boats over the Sutlej will probably be removed on Thursday evening or Friday morning. The officer left in charge of the sappers will take care that the supplies for the men who go down with the bridge, are prepared for embarkation in time, so that an hour may not be lost in going forward. The commissary in charge of provisions will attend to this point.

The officer in charge of the bridge (Lieutenant Sturt) will report what accommodation in tonnage the boats of the bridge can afford, plus its own equipments and the engineer stores.

This officer, on his passage down, will take care to open a communication with the chief engineer on his march as soon as practicable.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

(Signed) P. CRAIGIE, Major,

Dep. Adj.-Gen. of the Army.

No. 9.

Camp Sukkur, 15th February, 1839.

The Major-General commanding the Bengal column begs to offer to Captain Thomson, the chief engineer, and to Captain Sanders, commanding the sappers and miners, his strongest approbation and thanks for the admirable manner in which they have performed the arduous undertaking of forming the bridge over the Indus, which reflects the greatest credit on their military abilities; and he begs these officers will make known to the officers and men of their respective corps how fully he appreciates the active services and co-operation they have afforded in rendering this work so perfect.

No. 10.

Extract from General Orders by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus:—

Larkhana, 4th March, 1839.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India having, in a notification, dated Camp

at Ferozepore, 30th November, 1838, announced for certain reasons therein stated, especially that circumstances no longer existed which originally induced his Lordship to solicit the continuance of Sir Henry Fane's services, with a view to conducting military operations west of the Indus; and his Lordship having notified, under date 8th Dec. 1838, that he had transferred their important command to his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, it is accordingly announced to the troops of the two Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay forming the army of the Indus.

2. Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane avails himself of this opportunity to assure the troops that he feels very proud of the honour thus conferred upon him, and that it will be his study to attend to their comforts and happiness, as much as it may be possible to do, during the service in which all are engaged.

3. The character for high discipline and good conduct which Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton has given of the Bengal column during its long and arduous march from Ferozepore to the Sinde territory, and crossing the Indus, is highly creditable to the troops, and very gratifying to Sir John Keane to learn.

4. His Excellency having already intimated to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, and to the Bombay Government, his sense of the admirable conduct of the troops that quitted Bombay under his own immediate orders since the period of their landing in Sindé last November up to the present time, it now only remains for him to express publicly the satisfaction he has derived from commanding such troops.

5. The troops of the two Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay composing the army of the Indus, as far as concerns the native officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers and privates, gun or tent lascars, pioneers, and other permanent establishments drawing half or full batta, and regularly enrolled, will, under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor-General, be placed on a perfect equality in regard to pay and allowances, from the period when the Bengal troops crossed the Indus, the date of which will be hereafter announced in General Orders.

6. Notwithstanding what is above notified, and which relates alone to pay and allowances to natives of all classes in the regular service or permanent establishments, the troops of the two

Presidencies will continue to observe, and to be governed by the regulations of their own particular Presidency, which differ in many points.

7. The staff officers already appointed to the troops of each Presidency, will continue to exercise their functions distinctly as much as it can be done, the heads of departments taking their orders separately from the Commander-in-Chief in what relates exclusively to the troops of their own Presidency. To this one exception will, probably, be made hereafter as regards the commissariat, which it appears to his Excellency, with a due regard to the interests of the service, should be under one head.

8. Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H. to command the whole of the infantry of the Bengal Presidency, formed into three Brigades, as already ordered, and to be called the 1st division.

9. Major-General Willshire, C.B., to command the whole of the infantry of the Bombay Presidency, formed into two brigades, and to be called the 2nd division.

10. The cavalry division to be under the command of Major General Thackwell, C.B., and to be composed of the two brigades, commanded by Brigadier Arnold and Brigadier Scott.

11. The artillery of the Bengal and Bombay divisions to be under the command of Brigadier Stevenson, the senior officer.

12. The brigade ordered from Bombay to act as a reserve to the corps d'armée previously sent, will continue its head quarters at Curachie until further orders, sending a detachment to Tatta of the strength which will be ordered.

13 Under this arrangement, which has appeared to his Excellency the most eligible that could be made, when he has occasion to issue any General Order affecting the troops of both Presidencies, he will cause it to be signed by his officiating military secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, the Deputy Adjutant General, Queen's troops, Bombay army.

No. 11.

Larkhana, 10th March, 1839.

1. Circumstances rendering it necessary to make a new organization of the infantry of the Bombay force, the following arrangement is made:—

The 1st brigade to consist of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments of foot, and 19th native

infantry. The 2nd brigade to consist of the 1st, 5th, and 23rd regiments of native infantry.'

2. The 2nd brigade, under the command of Brigadier Gordon, will remain for the present in Upper Sinde, one of the regiments to be quartered in the fortress of Bukkur, relieving the 35th regiment of Bengal native infantry, which is to join the brigade of the Bengal infantry at Shikarpore.

3. The 2nd, or Brigadier Dennie's brigade of Bengal infantry will continue at Shikarpore until further orders, but to be prepared to move in advance at the shortest notice ; and Brigadier Gordon will, on its departure, send a strong detail to occupy Shikarpore, and to protect the depôt there.

4. A detail of the 1st regiment light cavalry of the strength of a troop, and to be commanded by a subaltern, will be selected by Lieutenant-Colonel Sandwith, under the superintendence of Brigadier Scott, to remain with Brigadier Gordon's infantry brigade.

5. Brigadier Gordon will take upon himself the general superintendence of all military details, and the duties of all persons in subordinate authority at the depôt, which is to be established on a large scale at Bukkur, for the general purposes and supply of the army of the

Indus of Bengal and Bombay, and the troops of his Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk.

No. 12.

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters at Koochlak, 7th April, 1839.

1. The commander-in-chief having established his head-quarters with the advanced column, avails himself of the opportunity of expressing his gratification at the proud position in which he is placed, by having the command of such fine troops.

2. His Excellency is also gratified at having received the charge from his friend and former companion in the field, Major General Sir Willoughby Cotton, to whom he begs to return his best thanks for the able and judicious manner in which he has conducted the march of the Bengal column over the great distance of country between Ferozepore and this, including the crossing of the Indus; but especially the manner in which he surmounted the difficulties he met with in the march from Shikarpore to Dadur, and the passage through the Bolan Pass with artillery, cavalry, and infantry;

and the Commander-in-Chief will not fail to state his sentiments in these terms to his Lordship the Governor-General.

No. 13.

Extract of orders by Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commanding the Bengal column of the army of the Indus :—

Camp Quettah, 7th April, 1839.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief having arrived in camp, and assumed the command in person of the army, and having directed Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton to resume the command of the infantry of the 1st division, he cannot give up the charge of the Bengal column without expressing, in the strongest and warmest terms, his thanks to Major-General Thackwell and the brigadiers and commanding officers of the cavalry and horse artillery, and to Major-General Nott, and the brigadiers and commanding officers of regiments of infantry, and the officer commanding the camel battery, to Major Pew, and the officers of the park, and to Captain Thomson and the officers of the engineer department,

and to the men composing the various corps, for the admirable manner in which the superior officers have conducted a march of upwards of eleven hundred miles, and for the good conduct and soldierlike behaviour of the men. To the Deputy Adjutant General and Quarter Master General, and the officers of their departments, and to Major Parsons, Deputy Commissary General, and the officers of his department, and to Doctor Thomson, and the medical department, Sir Willoughby Cotton begs to offer his recorded approbation of the assistance he has received from them, and of the manner in which these officers have conducted their duty.

No. 14.

Extract from General Orders, dated Head-Quarters, Camp, Ghuznee, 22nd July, 1839.

The following movements are directed for to-morrow :—

At 12, P.M., the artillery will commence moving towards the fort, and the batteries will follow each other in succession, at the discretion of the Brigadier commanding. The guns must be placed in the most favourable positions,

with their right above the village in the hills to the north-east of the fortress, and their left amongst the gardens below the Cabul road. They must all be in position before daylight; and as in their progress down they cannot avoid being heard, and fired upon, they should make a return sufficient to attract the enemy's attention from the gateway about 3, P.M.

The first battery will be accompanied by the sappers and miners, and by six companies of native infantry from the 1st division. Four of these companies are intended to clear the gardens on the left of the road, and to support the sappers; the other two companies will be formed on the right of the artillery for the protection of that flank.

The storming party will be under the command of Brigadier Sale, C.B., and will be composed as follows:—

“An advance,” to consist of the light companies of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments, and of the European regiment, and of a flank company of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B.

The main column will consist of her Majesty's 2nd regiment of foot, and the European regiment, with the remainder of her Majesty's

13th light infantry, formed as skirmishers on the flanks. The latter will push into the fort with the rear of the main column. Her Majesty's 17th regiment will be formed in support, and will follow the storming party into the works.

The whole must quit their respective encampments, formed in column of companies at quarter distance, right in front, so as to ensure their arrival at the place appointed for the rendezvous by two o'clock. Officers from her Majesty's 2nd regiment, 17th, and European regiments to be sent to Brigadier Sale's camp this afternoon at six o'clock, for the purpose of having their place of assembly pointed out to them.

At half-past two o'clock the companies of the 13th light infantry intended to act as skirmishers will move up to cover in front of the gateway, and be ready to keep down any fire on the party of the engineers who proceed to blow it open. This last party will move up to the gateway just before day-break, followed slowly and at some distance by the assaulting columns.

On the Chief Engineer finding the opening practicable, he will have the advance sounded for the column to push on; when the head has

passed the gateway, a signal must be made for the artillery to turn their fire from the walls of the town upon the citadel. The nature of the signal to be arranged by Brigadier Stevenson.

At twelve o'clock, P.M., three companies of native infantry will quit camp, and move round to the gardens on the south of the town, where they will establish themselves; and about three, A.M., open a fire upon the place, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the garrison.

The infantry of the 1st division not named for duty in the foregoing part of this order, will be formed as a reserve, and will be under the personal command of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton.

A regiment of cavalry will quit camp at twelve o'clock, P.M., and will move towards the southern face of the fort to cut off any parties making their escape from it. All these movements must be made without the sound of bugle or trumpet.

The remainder of the cavalry will be employed in observation on the Cabul road, and in such manner as the Major-General commanding may think the best calculated to prevent the operations before the fort from being interrupted, and for the protection of the camp.

The camp guards of the infantry must continue at their posts; but it is expected that corps will muster on the present occasion as strong as possible. Each commanding officer to be provided with a return, shewing the exact number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, under arms with his regiment.

The superintending surgeons will arrange for having a portion of the field hospital established in the vicinity of the batteries; but in a hollow of the mountain, and out of the range of fire.

The Assistant Quarter-Masters General of cavalry and infantry will furnish guides to the detachments from their respective divisions proceeding to the south of the town.

. The above instructions were published in General Orders on the 23rd, but issued as confidential on the evening of the 22nd to the superior officers of the army, who made known in a similar manner to those under their control that portion of them which each had to carry into effect on the succeeding morning.

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No. 15.

GENERAL ORDER BY HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN KEANE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Ghuznee, 23rd July, 1839.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane most heartily congratulates the army which he has the honour to command on the signal triumph they have obtained in the capture, by storm, of the strong and important fortress of Ghuznee. His Excellency feels that he can hardly do justice to the gallantry of the troops.

The scientific and successful manner in which the Cabul gate (of great strength) was blown up by Captain Thomson, of the Bengal engineers, the chief of that department with this army, in which he reports having been most ably assisted by Captain Peat, of the Bombay engineers, and Lieutenants Durand and Macleod, of the Bengal engineers, in the daring and dangerous enterprise of laying powder in the face of the enemy, and the strong fire kept up upon them, reflects the highest credit on their skill and cool courage; and his Excellency begs

Captain Thomson will accept his cordial thanks. His acknowledgments are also due to the other officers of engineers of both Presidencies, and to the whole of the valuable corps of sappers and miners under them. This opening having been made, although it was a difficult one to enter by, from the rubbish in the way, the leading column, in a spirit of fine gallantry, directed and led by Brigadier Sale, gained a footing inside the fortress, although opposed by the Affghan soldiers in very great strength, and in the most desperate manner, with every kind of weapon.

The advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Den-
nie, of her Majesty's 13th, consisting of the light companies of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th, and of the Bengal European regiment, with one company of her Majesty's 13th; and the leading column, consisting of her Majesty's 2nd, or Queen's, under Major Carruthers, and the Bengal European regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, followed by her Majesty's 13th light infantry, as they collected from the duty of skirmishing, which they were directed to begin with, and by her Majesty's 17th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Croker.

To all these officers, and gallant soldiers under their orders, his Excellency's best thanks

are tendered; and in particular he feels deeply indebted to Brigadier Sale for the manner in which he conducted the arduous duty intrusted to him in command of the storming party. His Excellency will not fail to bring it to the notice of his Lordship the Governor-General; and he trusts the wound which Brigadier Sale has received is not of that severe nature long to deprive the army of his services. Brigadier Sale reports that Captain Kershaw, of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, rendered important assistance to him and the service in the storming.

Sir John Keane was happy on this proud occasion to have the assistance of his old comrade, Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, who, in the command of the reserve, ably executed the instructions he received, and was at the gate ready to enter after the storming party had established themselves inside, when he moved through it to sweep the ramparts and to complete the subjugation of the place with the 16th Bengal native infantry, under Major Maclaren, Brigadier Roberts with the 35th native infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Monteith, and the 48th native infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler.

His arrangements afterwards, in continuation

of those Brigadier Sale had made for the security of the magazine and other public stores, were such as met his Excellency's high approbation.

The Commander-in-Chief acknowledges the services rendered by Captain Hay, of the 35th native infantry, sent to the south side of the fortress to begin with a false attack, and which was executed at the proper time and in a manner highly satisfactory to his Excellency.

Nothing could be more judicious than the manner in which Brigadier Stevenson placed the artillery in position. Captain Grant's troop of Bengal horse artillery, and the camel battery under Captain Abbott, both superintended by Major Pew, the two troops of Bombay horse artillery, commanded by Captains Martin and Cotgrave, and Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay foot artillery, all opened upon the citadel in a manner which shook the enemy, and did such execution as completely to paralyse and strike terror into them; and his Excellency begs Brigadier Stevenson and the officers and men of that arm will accept his thanks for their good services.

The 19th regiment Bombay native infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stalker, having been placed in position to

watch any enemy that might appear on the Cabul road, or approach to attack the camp, had an important post assigned to them, although, as it happened, no enemy made an attempt upon them.

In sieges and storming it does not fall to the lot of the cavalry to bear the same conspicuous part as the other two arms of the profession. On this occasion Sir John Keane is happy to have an opportunity of thanking Major-General Thackwell and the officers and men of the cavalry division under his orders, for having successfully executed the directions given to sweep the plain, and to intercept fugitives of the enemy attempting to escape from the fort in any direction around it; and had an enemy appeared for the relief of the place during the storming, his Excellency is fully satisfied that the several regiments of this fine arm would have distinguished themselves, and that the opportunity alone was wanting.

Major-General Willshire's division having been broken up for the day to be distributed, as it was, the Major-General was desired to be in attendance upon the Commander-in-Chief. To him and to the officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master General's department of the

Bengal and Bombay army, his Excellency returns his warmest thanks for the assistance they have afforded him.

The Commander-in-Chief feels, and in which feeling he is sure he will be joined by the troops composing the army of the Indus, that after the long and harassing marches they have made, and the privations they have endured, the glorious achievement and the brilliant manner in which the troops have met and conquered their enemy, rewards them for it all. His Excellency will only add, no army that has ever been engaged in a campaign deserves more credit than that which he has the honour to command, for patient, orderly, and cool conduct under all circumstances, and Sir John Keane is proud to have the opportunity of thus publicly acknowledging it.

By order of his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Keane, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus,

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lieut.-Col.
Military Secretary and Dy. Adj. General
Her Majesty's F. Bombay.

GENERAL ORDER BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ghuznee, 27th July, 1839.

The circumstance of Major Tronson having fallen into the command of her Majesty's 13th light infantry, on the morning of the 23rd instant, was overlooked at the time that the General Order of that date was issued, and his name was in consequence not mentioned in it. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief willingly rectifies the omission by thus publicly acknowledging Major Tronson's services at the head of his regiment, when it followed the storming party into the works of Ghuznee.

No. 16.

1. List of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane before Ghuznee, on the 21st July, 1839 :—

2nd Troop Bengal Horse Artillery—3 horses wounded.

3rd ditto Bombay ditto ditto—2 rank and file, 2 horses wounded.

4th ditto ditto ditto ditto—1 horse killed.

2nd Regiment Bengal Cavalry—1 horse killed, 1 rank and file wounded.

4th Bengal Local Horse—1 rank and file, and 1 horse missing.

Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—1 rank and file killed.

16th Bengal Native Infantry—1 Captain wounded.

48th ditto ditto ditto—1 Lieutenant, and 2 rank and file wounded.

Total killed—1 rank and file, and 2 horses.

Total wounded—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 5 rank and file, and 6 horses.

Total missing, 1 rank and file, and 1 horse.

Names of Officers Wounded.

Captain Graves, 16th Bengal Native Infantry, severely.

Lieutenant Vanhomrigh, 48th Bengal Native Infantry, slightly.

2. List of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., in the assault and capture of the Fortress and Citadel of Ghuznee, on the 23rd July, 1839:—

General Staff—1 Colonel, 1 Major, wounded.

2nd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery—1 rank and file wounded.

4th ditto ditto—1 rank and file and 1 horse wounded.

Bengal Engineers—3 rank and file killed, 2 rank and file wounded, 1 rank and file missing.

Bombay Engineers—1 Lieutenant, 1 rank and file wounded.

2nd Bengal Light Cavalry—1 rank and file wounded.

1st Bombay Light Cavalry—1 havildar killed, 5 rank and file and 7 horses wounded.

Her Majesty's 2nd Foot (or Queen's Royal)—4 rank and file killed, 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Serjeant, and 26 rank and file wounded.

Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—1 rank and file killed, 3 Sergeants and 27 rank and file wounded.

Her Majesty's 17th Foot—6 rank and file wounded.

Bengal European Regiment—1 rank and file killed 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Sergeant, 51 rank and file wounded.

16th Bengal Native Infantry—1 Havildar, 6 rank and file wounded.

35th ditto ditto—5 rank and file killed, 1 havildar, 8 rank and file wounded.

48th ditto ditto—2 Havildars killed, 5 rank and file wounded.

Total killed—3 Serjeants or Havildars, 14 rank and file.

Total Wounded—1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 7 Sergeants or Havildars, 140 rank and file, 8 horses.

Total Missing—1 rank and file.

Grand Total—on the 21st and 23d of July killed, wounded, and missing—191 officers and men, and 16 horses.

WOUNDED.

Names of Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing.

General Staff—Brigadier Sale, H. M.'s 13th light infantry, slightly; Major Parsons, Deputy-Commissary-General, ditto.

Bombay Engineers—Lieut. Marriott, slightly.

Her Majesty's 2nd (or Queen's Royal)—Captain Raitt,

slightly ; Captain Robinson, severely ; Lieutenant Young, ditto ; Lieutenant Stisted, slightly ; Adjutant Simmons, ditto ; Quarter Master Hadley, ditto. Bengal European Regiment—Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, slightly ; Major Warren, severely ; Captain Hay, slightly ; Captain Taylor, ditto ; Lieutenant Broadfoot, ditto ; Lieutenant Haslewood, severely ; Lieutenant Fagan, slightly ; Lieutenant Magnay, ditto ; Ensign Jacob, ditto.

No. 17.

ROLL OF GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS OF HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE ATTACHED TO THE BENGAL COLUMN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp Candahar, June 1st, 1889.

Commanding 1st division of infantry, Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H.

Aides-de-camp to Major-General Sir W. Cotton, Captain Willoughby Cotton, H.M.'s 44th reg., and Captain Havelock, H.M.'s 13th light infantry.

Commanding cavalry of the army of the Indus, Major-General J. Thackwell, C.B. and K.H., H.M.'s 8th light dragoons.

Aide-de-camp to General Thackwell, Cornet Edmund Roche, H.M.'s 3rd light dragoons.

Assistant adjutant general of cavalry, Major C. R. Cureton, H.M.'s 16th lancers.

Commanding Bengal cavalry brigade, Brigadier Robert Arnold, ditto, ditto.

Aide-de-camp to Brigadier Arnold, Lieutenant J. R. Pattenson, H. M. 16th Lancers.
Commanding 1st brigade infantry, Brigadier R. H. Sale, C.B., H.M.'s 13th light infantry.
Aide-de-camp to Brigadier Sale, Lieutenant J. S. Wood, ditto, ditto.
Brigade major 1st brigade of Infantry, Bt. Major T. C. Squire, ditto.
Medical storekeeper, Assistant Surgeon M. J. M. Ross, H.M.'s 16th lancers.

No. 18.

ROLL OF STAFF OFFICERS OF THE HONOURABLE
COMPANY'S SERVICE ATTACHED TO THE BEN-
GAL COLUMN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, Major P. Craigie, 38th regiment N.I.
Deputy Quarter-master General of ditto, Major W. Garden, 36th ditto, ditto
Deputy Commissary General of ditto, Major J. D. Parsons, 58th ditto, ditto.
Deputy Judge Advocate General of ditto, Brevet Major W. Hough, 48th ditto, ditto.
Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Captain A. Watt, 27th ditto, ditto.
Field Paymaster, Captain B. Bygrave, 5th ditto, ditto.
Post-master, W. Sage, Bt. Major, 48th ditto, ditto.
Baggage-master, Captain J. Nash, 43rd ditto, ditto.
Chief Engineer, Captain G. Thomson, engineers.

Assistant in the Office of the Deputy Adjutant General,

Lieutenant R. D. Kay, 2d regiment N. I.

Dep. Assistant Quarter-Master General, Ensign M.

Beecher, 61st regiment, N. I.

Assistant in the Office of the Quarter-Master General,

Cornet W. T. Tytler, 9th regiment light cavalry.

Superintending Surgeon, Surgeon James Atkinson.

Field - Surgeon, Surgeon R. M. M. Thomson, European regiment.

Chaplain, Rev. A. Hammond.

DISPOSITION RETURN OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

Head-Quarters, Camp at Candahar, 4th June, 1839.

Where Station- ed.	Detail.	Serjeants & Havildars.	Trump. & Drums.	Rank & File.	Serjeants & Havildars.	Trump. & Drums.	Rank & File.
With Head Quarters at Candahar.	2d Troop 2d Brigade Beng. Horse Artillery,	5	3	88			
	3d and 4th Troops, Bombay ditto...	16	4	175			
	2 Squadrons Her Majesty's 4th Light Dra- goons	10	4	219			
	Her Majesty's 16th Lancers...	28	6	363			
	1st Regiment Bombay Light Cavalry...	22	7	289			
	2d ditto Bengal ditto	24	6	402			
	3d ditto, ditto, ditto	26	6	408			
	4th Company 2d Battalion Beng. Artillery	5	2	76			
	2d ditto 2d ditto Bombay ditto	4	1	73			
	2d ditto 6th ditto Bengal ditto	7	2	91			
	2d and 3d Companies Bengal Sappers and Miners	8	6	241			
	Detachment Bombay Sappers, Miners, and Pioneers	10	3	198			
	Her Majesty's 2d (or Queen's Royal) Regt. of Foot	31	11	521			
	— 13th Light Infantry	34	12	405			
	— 17th Regiment of Foot	35	10	531			
	Bengal European Regiment... ..	36	18	471			
	16th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry ...	45	16	652			
	19th ditto Bombay ditto	47	18	627			
	35th ditto Bengal ditto... ..	36	15	651			
	37th ditto, ditto, ditto	26	10	364			
	48th ditto, ditto, ditto	47	16	620			
	Detachment's Regt. Bengal Local Horse	92			
	4th Regiment... ..	4	4	269			
	Poonah Auxiliary Horse	14	...	276			
	Present fit for duty at Head Quarters				520	180	8102
At Quetta.	1st Company 2d Batt. Bombay Artillery ...	5	1	61			
	6 Companies 31st Regt. Bengal N. I....	46	16	485			
	Detachment 42d ditto	22	9	274			
	43d Regiment ditto	43	13	659			
	Detachment 4th Regt. Beng. Local Horse...	4	...	80			
	Present fit for duty at Quetta				120	39	1559
At Dadur	2 Companies 31st Bengal Native Infantry ...	2	...	135			
	Present fit for duty at Dadur				2	...	135
In Sinde.	1st Grenadier Regt. Bombay N. I.	47	15	537			
	5th Regiment of ditto	46	18	624			
	23d ditto, ditto	47	16	654			
	4 Companies 42d Bengal N. I.	26	9	350			
	Detachment of Bombay Artillery	3	2	71			
	Ditto of 1st Regt. Bombay Light Ca- valry	4	...	80			
	Ditto of 52d Regt. Bengal N. I.		Notknown				
	Present fit for duty in Sinde				173	60	2326
Total					815	279	12122
Grand Total						13,216	

The Sick, and those at the Depots, or on Detachment at a distance from the Army, have not been included in the return. (Signed) P. CRAIGIE, Major, D. A. Gen.

Followers attached to the Army, and now at Head-Quarters.

Bengal Column 24,326

Bombay Column 5,720

Total 50,046

No. 20.

Copy of a report from Major Maclaren, Commanding the 16th regiment native infantry:—

Camp Kilah, Futtoolah, near Kooloogo, 22nd Sept. 1839.

SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that information having been brought in that the Khajuck tribe of plunderers, to the number of upwards of two hundred, had left the hills and come down to a glen in the lower range; at the request of Captain Outram, political agent, I immediately determined to move off at twelve o'clock at night with a wing of the 16th regiment, one hundred and fifty of Christie's horse, under Lieutenant Nicolson, fifty of Skinner's, under Lieutenant Broadfoot, and one hundred and fifty of his Majesty's Affghans, under Moohummud Osman Khan, leaving our camp and guards standing, with three hundred horse in addition for its protection.

I came in sight of the encampment of the Khajucks at daylight, but found it in a much stronger position than I was led to expect, it

being at the foot of a range of mountains of bare rock.

I immediately halted the detachment, ordered Lieutenant Nicolson and his horse round to the left, and the party of Skinner's and Affghans to the right, to get round the hill, if possible, attacking the enemy's camp in front with the wing of the 16th regiment. A few were killed at the camp, but the main body took to the heights, which were excessively steep. The grenadier company of the 16th were ordered to pursue up the mountain, the light company and another being sent to the right to prevent the enemy escaping along the range. Lieutenant Nicolson succeeded admirably in getting round the hill with his horse, the above companies closing in upon the enemy, who had gained the tops of two of the highest mountains, on which they made their stand, being well protected by large rocks. It was with the greatest difficulty the officers and men got up in face of a heavy and well directed fire from Affghan matchlocks with rests. The chiefs of the Khajucks, waving their swords, called on our troops to come and meet them. They did so; killing many, taking the rest (one hundred and twenty) prisoners on their laying down their arms, many of whom were wounded. So complete was the

affair, that not one individual escaped ; and a chief, Malic Ursulan, of the Moohummudzye branch, who was on a visit to the Khajucks, and fought most bravely with them, was also shot through the heart by a sepoy of the light company of the 16th.

It is with much pleasure I report, for his Excellency's information, that Moohummud Osman, chief of the Khajucks, and two or three others, who murdered the late Lieutenant-Colonel Herring, have been captured, the chief himself being wounded. Many articles of clothing of Europeans and native soldiers, as well as parts of English letters, have been found in the enemy's camp. One hundred and twenty camels, a few horses, numbers of sheep, have also been captured, as well as arms of every kind ; the matchlocks superior to any I have seen in Affghanistan.

The inhabitants of many forts on our return to camp turned out, and cheered the detachment for their gallant conduct in having destroyed a race that had for two hundred and fifty years prevented their cultivation, carried off their cattle, and that no king or chief of Affghanistan had dared to attack or encounter.

The officers and men behaved in the most determined manner, and I am sorry the service

was not accomplished without loss. Lieutenant and Adjutant Balderston, of the 16th, was wounded, and Lieutenant Nicolson received a severe contusion. A list of the killed and wounded I have the honour to inclose, as also a sketch of the hills, and plan of attack.

I must not omit to mention Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Philipson, who, on hearing that an officer of the 16th was wounded, and no dooly could reach him, mounted his horse and galloped to the spot through the enemy's fire.

I also beg to bring to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the chief commanding his Majesty's Affghan horse, Moohummud Osman Khan, and also Surwur Khan, who was of great service.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. E. MACLAREN, Major,

Commanding the troops in Toornul District.

MAJOR CRAIGIE, Adjutant-General, Cabul.

No. 21.

List of members of the several classes of the Order of the Dooranee Empire, instituted by Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, at Cabul, 17th of September, 1839:—

FIRST CLASS.*Civil or Military, in Political Employ.*

The Right Hon. Lord Auckland, G.C.B.

W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. Wade.

Military.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief.

Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H., commanding 1st division.

SECOND CLASS.*Civil or Military, in Political Employ.*

Major D'Arcy Todd.

Military.

Major-General Willshire, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 2nd, or Queen's.

Major-Gen. J. Thackwell, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 3rd Light Dragoons.

Major-Gen. Simpson, commanding army of Shah Sooja.

Brigadier Sale, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry.

Brigadier Roberts, Lieut-Col. Honourable Company's Bengal European regiment.

Brigadier Arnold, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 16th Lancers.
Brigadier Baumgardt, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 2nd Queen's.
Brigadier Scott, Lieut.-Col. H. M.'s 4th Light Dragoons.
Brigadier Stevenson, Lieut.-Col., Bombay artillery.

The following officers are specially recommended by the Commander-in-Chief for the 2nd Class of the Order, in addition to those above-mentioned, for their excellent and efficient service during the whole campaign, and at the assault and capture of Ghuznee:—

Major Craigie, Deputy Adjt.-Gen. Bengal army.
Major Garden, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, Bengal army.
Major Parsons, 50th Bengal N. I., Commissary-Gen.
Lieut.-Col. Macdonald, Deputy-Adjutant-General, H. M. F. Bombay, and Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.
Major Keith, Deputy Adjutant-General, Bombay army.
Major Campbell, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, ditto.
Captain Thomson, Bengal Engineers, chief engineer.
Captain Peat, Bombay Engineers, commanding.

THIRD CLASS.

Lieut.-Col. Dennie, C.B., Her Majesty's 13th Light Inf.
Lieut.-Col. Orchard, Bengal European regiment.
Lieut.-Col. Herring, 37th Bengal Native Infantry.
Lieut.-Col. Monteath, 35th Bengal Native Infantry.
Lieut.-Col. Wheeler, 48th Bengal Native Infantry.
Lieut.-Col. Persse, Her Majesty's 16th Lancers.
Lieut.-Col. Croker, Her Majesty's 17th Foot.
Lieut.-Col. C. Smyth, H. M.'s 3rd Bengal Light Caval.

Lieut.-Col. Sandwith, 1st Bombay Light Cavalry.
Lieut.-Col. Stalker, 19th Bombay Native Infantry.
Major Salter, 2nd Bengal Cavalry.
Major Warren, Bengal European regiment.
Major Thomson, ditto, ditto, ditto.
Major Maclean, 16th Bengal Native Infantry.
Major Cureton, Her Majesty's 16th Lancers.
Major Macdowell, ditto, ditto, ditto.
Major Daly, Her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons.
Major Carruthers, Her Majesty's 2nd foot.
Major Tronson, H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry.
Major Pennycuik, H. M.'s 17th foot.
Major Deshon, H. M.'s 17th foot.
Major Thomas, 48th Bengal Native Infantry.
Major Hardwick, 19th Bombay Native Infantry.
Major David Cunningham, 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry,
commanding.
Major J. C. Cunningham, 1st Poona Horse, Bombay
Light Cavalry.
Captain Hay, 35th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry.
Captain Davidson, 7th Bombay Native Infantry.
Captain Alexander, commanding 4th Local Horse
(Bengal.)
Captain Sanders, Bengal Engineers.
Captain McSherr, Major of Brigade, Shah Sooja's army.
Captain Johnson, Bengal Commissariat Department,
ditto, ditto, ditto.

Civil or Military, in Political Employ.

Major Leech, Bombay Engineers.
Lieutenant George Macgregor, Bengal H. Artillery.
Lieutenant Mackeson, 14th Bengal Native Infantry.
Assistant Surgeon Lord, Bombay Establishment.

The following officers, whose regiments remained in Sinde, or did not advance beyond Candahar, have also been recommended to the Governor-General, with a view to permission being obtained for them to wear the insignia of the 3rd Class:—

Lieut. Col. Stacy, 48rd Bengal N. I.	} At Quettah.
Major Clarkson, 42nd ditto, . . .	
Major Weston, 31st ditto. . . .	
Major Billamore, 1st Bombay (Grenadier) regiment,	} At Shikarpore and Bukkur.
Major Aitchison, 5th ditto. reg. N. I.	
Major Wilson, 23d ditto, ditto, ditto.)	

The following document is subjoined as explanatory of the circumstances under which the acceptance of the decoration of the 3rd Class of the Order was pressed upon Lieut. Edward Keane, the son and Aide-de-Camp of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Extract of a joint letter from the Envoy and Minister and the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General, dated Cabul, 17th September, 1839:—

“After the officers to whom the different grades of the order were granted had been individually introduced, his Majesty requested that Lieutenant Keane, Aide-de-Camp, son of the

Commander-in-Chief, might be introduced to him, and stated that although his name had not appeared in the list of officers which had now been read, he was very desirous that his Excellency should permit his son to accept the 3rd Class of the Order, as well for the services performed, as to mark still more strongly the deep sense of gratitude which he felt for the services rendered to him by the Commander-in-Chief.

“In reply to this mark of the royal condescension, the Commander-in-Chief expressed his sincerest acknowledgments, but begged at the same time that his Majesty would not press on him the acceptance of an honour for his son, which might give rise to misconception. It was evident, however, that his Majesty had set his heart upon this object, and that he would have been seriously mortified had his wish not been complied with. Sir John Keane therefore waived his objections, subject to your Lordship’s approval, and we now leave the matter entirely in your Lordship’s hands to deal with it as may seem to you most fit. Should your Lordship see reason to submit the name of Lieutenant Keane of the 2nd or Queen’s Royal regiment of foot, Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Sir

John Keane, to the home authorities for her Majesty's permission to wear the 3rd Class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire, we would humbly suggest that it be done as a special case, and in a separate letter, as being a particular request of his Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, to remove all misconception, and to avoid creating jealousy in the minds of Lieutenant Keane's senior officers."

No. 22.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR MACLAREN, COMMANDING 16TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.

Camp Siri-Moohoor, 14th October, 1839.

SIR,—I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that I this day captured the murderers of the late Lieutenant Inverarity, of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, seven in number, two chiefs, Arrab and Mukaru, and five others. I have evidence fully to prove the same.

I received intelligence of their being in the village of Sheer Kheil two days ago, and this morning pitched my camp far from any village or town, to avoid spies, who are out in every

direction around my camp. Part of the Affghan horse that were with my detachment I permitted to move towards their homes, near Candahar, this morning; and with a view of putting the inhabitants of Sheer Kheil off their guard, I ordered them to separate in fifties and sixties, and to go to different villages, merely saying they would by this means procure forage the more easily. Another detachment of Affghan horse, left in the district of Kurnoo when my detachments first took the field, I learnt were within a short march, and on their way to Candahar with their families. I immediately saw the use it could be turned to, and ordered the commandant of the party to proceed to the village of Sheer Kheil, and to allow the men's families to mix with the inhabitants; and if he did not observe anything particular, or the men of the place making towards the hills, to remain quiet; but to guard against such taking place. I ordered my own detachment and guns to march as usual in the morning, and moved myself with the flank companies of the 16th regiment, and one hundred Affghan horse towards Candahar, wheeled round, and came upon Sheer Kheil in the opposite direction to which my camp was, surrounded it by infantry and parties of horse, and proceeded to the small fort myself

with twenty grenadiers, secured the gate, and called for the chiefs and others by name. I succeeded in getting one or two immediately, who were not a little surprised to hear their names from military men whom they had never seen before. A few endeavoured to escape; but every place was guarded, and they were all soon secured, with the exception of the senior of the chiefs, Arrab. I immediately caused it to be explained, that I should make an example of ten of the principal men in the village unless he was pointed out or made over to me in ten minutes. This had the desired effect; a priest stepped out, and pointed out the house the chief was in. The serjeant-major of the 16th regiment took a small party in, but could not for some time find the chief. My orderly Havildar, who was also in the house, observed one of the many large grain bags move, and his bayonet made the chief start out of the bags sword in hand, when the serjeant-major and Havildar-major of the 16th seized and brought him out.

The two chiefs, Arrab and Mukaru, had eighty followers when they went to Candahar to meet the English army, and were very successful, having brought back one hundred and fifty to two hundred camels, which they had

captured, besides other articles.* A forage cap with a gold lace band and a cavalry sword were often seen by the three witnesses, whom I have. Many caps and swords were shewn to them in my tent, before they pointed out such as they had seen with the chiefs. Arrab and Mukaru had for months past boasted of their having killed, with their own swords, a English gentleman at a place called "Baba Wullee," near Candahar. The above-named place I never heard mentioned until to-day. The chiefs and their followers had for the last five or six days been sending off their grain and cattle to the hills, and no less than thirty or forty loads went off yesterday; but they were themselves put off their guard by the arrangements which I had made; so much so, that they had not time to take to their arms, otherwise I should have had sharp work, as they could have turned out two or three hundred matchlock men against me. I brought the prisoners safely into camp after a fatiguing march of nearly ten hours, which the officers and men bore with the greatest cheerfulness,

* It is to be remarked, that this fact affords no proof of these men being the murderers of Lieutenant Inverarity, since that officer was in a shooting dress, and both his sword and forage cap had been left in camp at Candahar when he was assassinated.

and only calculating on the happiness their success would yield.

In conclusion, I trust this affair will prove most satisfactory to his Excellency, whose anxiety on account of these murders I was fully aware of. I heard of them by mere accident on my return towards Ghuznee, and I considered it to be my duty instantly to proceed and capture them, if possible ; and I am happy to say the result has been most gratifying to me.

I hope to reach Ghuznee by Saturday, the 19th instant.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. E. MACLAREN, Major,
Commanding Field Detachment.

MAJOR CRAIGIE, Adjutant-General of the Army.

No. 23.

DIVISION ORDERS BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WIL-
LOUGHBY COTTON, K.C.B. AND K.C.H.

Dated Camp, near Cabul, 15th October, 1839.

It having been signified to Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, that government will re-

quire his services within the provinces of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies, probably for a time in the command of their army, he finds that the moment has unexpectedly arrived in which he must take leave of the division, at the head of which he has had the honour to march upwards of seventeen hundred miles. The memorable enterprise which the army of the Indus has now completed has only once brought the force into fair and serious contact with an enemy. On that single occasion, the Major-General had every reason to be satisfied, not only with the gallantry, which is the commonest of military virtues, but with the intelligence, coolness, and self-possession in the moment of danger, and the forbearance and admirable discipline after victory, both of that portion of the troops which was under his personal command, and that which was separated from him, and employed in very prominent and arduous duties. Throughout the service, also, the endurance of no ordinary fatigues and privations has been most exemplary.

To the whole of the officers and men the Major-General's acknowledgments are due, but especially to those of the former class on whom the greatest share of responsibility has rested—viz., on Brigadiers Sale and Roberts, in the

command of Brigades ; and Lieutenant-Colonels Dennie, Monteath, Wheeler, and Orchard ; Major Maclaren, and Captain Barstow, in charge of regiments. With the zeal, talent, and activity displayed by Captain Douglas, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Paton, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Captain Watt, Assistant Commissary-General, in the discharge of their departmental duties, and the exertions of his personal Staff, Captains Cotton and Havelock, the Major-General has been uniformly satisfied.

The 2nd brigade has been long detached from the rest ; but Sir Willoughby Cotton has ever received of its conduct the most favourable reports from Major-General Nott, and he requests its able and respected Commander, and all its officers and soldiers, to consider themselves as included in the general expression of his entire and unreserved approbation as above conveyed to the division.

No. 24.

INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDIMENT OF THE MARBLE
MOSQUE NEAR THE TOMB OF SOOLTAN BABUR.

این مسجد لطیف و معبد شریف که سجده گاه
قدوسیان است و جلوه گاه کروبیان بفرمان ادب
در حریم محترم این کد رگاه ملاً اعلی نظرگاه عالم بالا
یعنی روضه منور پادشاه غفران پناه رضوان آرام گاه
حضرت فریدوس مکافی ظهیرالدین محمد بابر پادشاه
غازی جز آن عمارتی نتوان ساخت بفرموده این
نیازمند تمام شکر سراسر سپاس سراپا نیایش درگاه
الهی ابوالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران ثانی
شاه جهان پادشاه غازی بعد فتح بلخ و بد خشان
و هریمت و قرار نذر محمد خان از بلخ بسبزغان
و تعاقب فریقی از کار طلبان و نبرد آرائی او دران
سرزمین با کوه فیروزی نشان و هریمت او از سپاه
رزم خواه دران مید ان که محض کرم کار ساز خفیفی
نصیب این نیازمند و دولت خواهان این بنده
شرمنده احسان حضرت ایزادان گشته آخر سال نوزدهم
جلوس میمنت مانوس موافق سنه هزار و پنجاه
و شش هجری در عرض دو سال بچهل هزار روپیه انجام
یافت *

In the following attempt at translation, I have followed the sense as clearly as I was able: I fear with little success, through the labyrinth of epithets and complimentary phrases.

“ Since the dictates of veneration forbade that any less sacred structure should be erected within the sanctified inclosure of this heavenly residence, the scene of celestial vision, to wit, the bright garden of the merciful potentate, the resting place of the keeper of paradise, the presence of the supernal abode, Zuheer Ooddeen Mohummed Babur, the conquering king, this beautiful mosque, and noble temple, which is a place of worship for the angels, and a bright abode for cherubs, was completed in two years, by order of the humbled before God, (to Him be all praise and adoration)— viz., of Abool Moozuffer Shuhabooden Moohummud Sahib-i-Quran-i-Sanee Shah Juhan, the victorious, at an expense of forty thousand rupees, in the 19th year of his auspicious reign, being the 1056th of the Hijree, after the subjugation of Balkh and Bukdukshan, and the retreat and flight of Nuzr Moohummud Khan from Balkh to Subzghan, and the pursuit of him by a division of the Emperor's troops; and the Khan's struggle at the last named place against the soldiers of victory, and his utter defeat by those

bold warriors. With these successes, God in his mercy blessed the arms of that monarch, (humbled under a sense of the divine mercy,) and of his devoted followers."

I am indebted to the kindness of Major Ouseley, Secretary and Examiner in the College of Fort William, for the following brief version, which contains the pith of the inscription :—

"This beautiful mosque and noble place of worship (which is the angels' place of prostration and the spot where cherubs appear) was erected to the memory of the valiant King Zuheeroodeen Moohummud Babur by the brave King Abool Mozuffer, Shah Jehan Ooddeen Moohummud Shubab, after the conquest of Balkh and Budukshan, and the defeat and flight of Nuzr Moohummud Khan from Balkh to Subzghan, and the pursuit and subsequent defeat of his army), and finished in two years, at an expense of 40,000 rupees, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and in the year 1056 of the Hijree."

No. 25.

GENERAL ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Secret Department, Camp Paniput, 18th November, 1839.

Intelligence was this day received of the arrival within the Peshawur territory of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, with a portion of that force, on its return to the British provinces. The military operations under the direction of his Excellency having now been brought to a close, the Right Honourable the Governor-General has, on the part of the Government of India, to acquit himself of the gratifying duty of offering publicly his warmest thanks to his Excellency, and to the officers and men who served under his command, for the soldier-like spirit and conduct of all ranks throughout the late campaign; and he again cordially congratulates them on the attainment of the great objects of national security and honour for which the expedition was undertaken.

The plans of aggression by which the British empire in India was dangerously threatened

have, under Providence, been arrested. The Chiefs of Cabul and Candahar, who had joined in hostile designs against us, have been deprived of power, and the territories which they ruled have been restored to the government of a friendly monarch. The Ameers of Sind have acknowledged the supremacy of the British government, and ranged themselves under its protection. Their country will now be an outwork of defence, and the navigation of the Indus within their dominions, exempt from all duties, has been opened to commercial enterprise. With the allied government of the Sikhs the closest harmony has been maintained; and on the side of Herat the British alliance has been courted, and a good understanding, with a view to common safety, has been established with that power.

For these important results, the Governor-General is proud to express the acknowledgments of the government to the army of the Indus, which alike, by its valour, its discipline, and cheerfulness under hardships and privations, and its conciliatory conduct to the inhabitants of the countries through which it passed, has earned respect for the British name, and has confirmed in Central Asia a just impression of British energy and resources.

The native and European soldiers have vied with each other in effort and endurance. A march of extraordinary length, through difficult and untried countries, has been within a few months successfully accomplished, and in the capture of the one stronghold where resistance was attempted, a trophy of victory has been won, which will add a fresh lustre to the reputation of the armies of India.

To Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the Governor-General would particularly declare his thanks for his direction of these honourable achievements—he would especially acknowledge the marked forbearance and just appreciation of the views of the government which guided his Excellency in his intercourse with the Ameers of Sind. He feels the government to be under the deepest obligations to his Excellency for the unshaken firmness of purpose with which, throughout the whole course of the operations, obstacles and discouragements were disregarded, and the prescribed objects of policy were pursued; and, above all, he would warmly applaud the decisive judgment with which the attack upon the fortress of Ghuznee was planned and its capture effected; nor would he omit to remark upon that spirit of perfect co-operation

with which his Excellency gave all support to the political authorities with whom he was associated. Mr. Macnaghten, the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk, and Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in Sind, have been chiefly enabled, by the cordial good understanding which has throughout subsisted between them and his Excellency, to render the important services by which they have entitled themselves to the high approbation of the government; and his Lordship has much pleasure in noticing the feelings of satisfaction with which his Excellency regarded the valuable services of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, who was politically attached to him in the advance upon Ghuznee.

The Governor-General would follow his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in acknowledging the manner in which Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K.C.B. and K.C.H., exercised his command of the Bengal division throughout the campaign, and supported the honour of his country on the 23rd July; and his Lordship would also offer the thanks of the government to Major-General Willshire, C.B., commanding the 2nd infantry division; to Major-General Thackwell, C.B. and K.H., commanding the cavalry division; to Brigadier Roberts,

commanding the 4th infantry brigade; to Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the artillery of the army; to Brigadier Scott, commanding the Bombay cavalry brigade; and to Brigadier Persse, upon whom, on the lamented death of the late Brigadier Arnold, devolved the command of the Bengal cavalry brigade; as well as to the commandants of corps and detachments, with the officers and men under their respective commands; and to the officers at the head of the several departments, with all of whom his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has expressed his high satisfaction.

To Brigadier Sale, C.B., already honourably distinguished in the annals of Indian warfare, who commanded the storming party at Ghuznee; to Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B., who led the advance on the same occasion; and to Captain George Thomson, of the Bengal engineers, whose services in the capture of that fortress have been noticed in marked terms of commendation by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; and to Captain Peat, of the Bombay engineers; and to Lieutenants Durand and Macleod, of the Bengal engineers, and the other officers and men of the Bengal and Bombay engineers under their command, the Governor-General would especially tender the expression

of his admiration of the gallantry and science which they respectively displayed in the execution of the important duties confided to them in that memorable operation.

In testimony of the services of the army of the Indus, the Governor-General is pleased to resolve that all the corps, European and native, in the service of the East India Company, which proceeded beyond the Bolan Pass, shall have on their regimental colours the word "Affghanistan;" and such of them as were employed in the reduction of the fortress of that name the word "Ghuznee" in addition.

In behalf of the Queen's regiments, the Governor-General will recommend to her Majesty, through the proper channel, that the same distinction may be granted to them.

The Governor-General would here notice with approbation the praiseworthy conduct, during this expedition, of the officers and men attached to the disciplined force of his Majesty Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk. This force was newly raised, and opportunities had not been afforded for its perfect organization and instruction; but it shared honourably in the labours and difficulties of the campaign, and it had the good fortune in repelling an attack made by the enemy in force on the day prior to the storming of Ghuznee; to be

enabled to give promise of the excellent service which may hereafter be expected from it.

His Lordship has also much satisfaction in adding, that the best acknowledgments of the government are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, who was employed upon the Peshawar Frontier, and who, gallantly supported by the officers and men of all ranks under him, and seconded by the cordial aid of the Sikh government—an aid the more honourable, because rendered at a painful crisis of its affairs—opened the Khyber Pass, and overthrew the authority of the enemy in that quarter at the moment when the advance of the forces of the Shah-zadah Timoor could most conduce to the success of the general operations.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India,

T. H. MADDOCK,

Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India, with the Gov. General.

No. 26.

Timour, in his Institutes, thus speaks of one of his own lines of operation against Delhi:—

وکنکاش تعین نمودن لشکرها بر دارالملک هند
وستان چنین کردم که امیرزاده پیرمحمد جهانگیرا

باسي هزار سوار لشکر جرانگار که در کابل بود امر نمودم که از راه کوه سلیمانی رفته و از آب سند گذشته بروایت ملتان ترکتا؛ آورد و مسخر کند *

“ Thus I resolved to send down armies on the chief city of Hindoostan. I commanded the Prince Peer Moohummud Jehangeer, who was at Cabul with thirty thousand horsemen of the right wing of the army, that, going by the way of the mountains of Soolueman, and crossing the Sind, he should go down upon Mooltan and subdue it !”

I can hardly suspect Prince Peer Moohummud Jehangeer of marching from Cabool to Mooltan by a route so circuitous as Candahar and Dera Ghazee Khan. Surely he must have directed his column on Ghuznee, and Dera Ismael Khan. It is related that Timour joined him at Moolten, and that the vanguard of their united forces accomplished the capture of Bhutneer, by which line, through the Western desert, passing it may be supposed by Bhawulpore, they marched on Delhi.

THE END.

